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THE EDUCATION OF INDIA

THE EDUCATION OF INDIA

A STUDY OF BRITISH EDUCATIONAL POLICY IN INDIA, 1835-1920, AND OF ITS BEARING ON NATIONAL LIFE AND PROBLEMS IN INDIA TO-DAY

By

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"Should sight fail,
Plod in the track of the husbandman.
Verily now is our season of seed,
Now in our Autumn; and Earth discerns
Them that have served her in them that can read,
Glassing, where under the surface she burns,
Quick at her wheel, while the fuel, decay,
Brightens the fire of renewal; and we?
Death is the word of a bovine day,
Know you the breast of the springing To-be."
—*Seed Time* by GEORGE MEREDITH

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INTRODUCTION

It is not hard to justify an attempt to summarise the aims, methods, and results of British educational policy in India. A definite period of responsibility was closed in 1920, when the educational future of India was entrusted, under the Reforms Act, to provincial ministers responsible to representative legislative councils. This period can now be surveyed as a whole. If I am wrong in believing that this has not yet been done, a unique experiment, which, with all its difficulties and dangers, will always stand as a symbol of British honesty, courage, and generosity, can bear examination by more than one critic.

Books on Indian problems have dealt freely with educational topics. Much of the criticism combines a lurking mistrust of the schoolmaster with an exaggerated idea of his opportunities. Twenty years' experience of his work in India has made me realise not only his common sense and ability, but also the restrictions imposed on him by difficulties not of his making, and by forces that he understands but cannot control. I have tried to emphasise these forces rather than the intrinsic merit of his work. The days of the Indian Educational Service are numbered. I am proud to have belonged to a service distinguished by high qualifications and zeal. But I have tried to describe the field in which it fought, not to compose an obituary notice. This has led me far from the classroom into regions of national

life from which the schoolmaster cannot, with impunity, be excluded. In no sphere, least of all his classroom, is he supreme; but nowhere can he be left out of account. I venture to emphasise five conclusions which deserve attention, if they fail to win support:—

(*a*) Our education has done far less for Indian culture than for the material and political progress of India. She looks to our schools and colleges for equipment in the struggle for existence; for the secret of happy living, *vivendi causae*, she looks elsewhere.

(*b*) Emotional reaction against foreign culture affords no soil for indigenous growth. The sympathetic application of critical and scientific methods to Indian life and thought, and the adoption of a "western" attitude of mind, must precede the fusion of East and West that India's wisest minds desire.

(*c*) Indian personality and life as a whole will not intimately be affected by any education which is not animated by religion. The forces which oppose progress can be restrained or diverted only by a religion more vital than those on which they depend for sanction.

(*d*) Higher education in India depends for warmth and colour, vitality, and response to communal aspirations, on the measure of its freedom from the control and direction of any form of government, whether Indian or alien. The function of Government in this sphere is to suppress what is harmful to the common-weal and to support, with the utmost elasticity, whatever is useful and effective. But for the better education of the masses, as a fundamental condition of national progress, a vigorous

initiative must be taken, and a financial policy prescribed, by the Government.

(*e*) At no previous stage has Indian education needed more sorely western sympathy, support, and guidance. English educational work in India will be more deeply appreciated and more fruitful when it is not associated officially with an alien Government.

These conclusions have emerged from a three years' survey of my Indian experience, carried out in the light of my early studies in Germany and recent observations in England. My work in India began at a time when the education department was inspired by Lord Curzon's vision and energy. That vitality was never lost ; I saw an educational bureaucracy at its best. But I was convinced, on my return, that English schools and Universities, with all their anomalies and lack of arrangement, possessed the vital spark so sadly lacking in the precise systems of Germany and India. And I felt surprised and sorry that, in an official atmosphere, I had grown so very un-English.

My facts are drawn mainly from official records and personal experience. My conclusions are my own, though many have been reached and more adequately expressed by others. Arguments and illustrations I have not hesitated to draw from more gifted writers. Among the books whose help has been acknowledged in notes and list of authorities, those written by Lord Ronaldshay, Sir Valentine Chirol, and the Rev. W. MacNicol have been found specially valuable. To these names I would add that of Dr. Rushbrook Williams, Director of Public Information in India, whose annual reports are indispensable to all students of that country. The report of the Calcutta University Commission has been a constant source of suggestion and information.

Its significance in the history of Indian education is incalculable. If unwittingly I have failed to acknowledge any debt, I trust that it will be attributed to inexperience and forgetfulness rather than to carelessness for the feelings of my benefactors. I wish to thank Sir Henry Sharp, C.S.I., C.I.E., late Secretary to the Government of India, Education Department, for his very kind and careful scrutiny of my work before publication. He is, of course, responsible for no statements or conclusions. But he has given me, as he gave India during his loyal and distinguished service, the fruits of his sound judgment, ripe knowledge, and enthusiasm.

PART I

SEED TIME

CHAPTER I

FORMULATION OF AIMS

Decision of 1835—Preceding events—Anglicists and Orientalists—Contributory factors in England—Charter renewal—Age of reform: "useful information" and optimism—Bentinck's reforms in India—Depressed state of Indian culture and morals—Bentinck's decision in favour of Anglicists—Inspired by Company's desire to employ Indians—By desire for material development and moral reform—By conviction of superiority and efficacy of western culture—Optimism of C. E. Trevelyan and Macaulay—Survey of results of decision.

It is only the professional who is perplexed by educational problems. Laymen who are compelled as parents, politicians, or members of committees to consider educational aims and methods find nothing puzzling except the schoolmaster's inability to face obvious facts and apply unassailable principles. In India there has been no subject on which Viceroys and Governors have expressed their views with more ease and eloquence. Mind and pen move along well-worn grooves. The experienced Secretary, after spending his morning energy on financial and judicial files, drafts with the sinking sun his educational resolution, in which educationalists are reminded that their task is the formation of character and the training of good and productive citizens, and that their methods must be effective within the limits prescribed by economy and public opinion.

It is improbable that Lord William Bentinck took long in March, 1835, to decide finally the question which had vexed for several years his Committee of Public Instruction, dividing its members into two equal camps and producing an alarming file of acrimonious minutes and declarations.

In 1813 an annual allotment of one lakh of rupees had

been provided by a somewhat reluctant Court of Directors of the East India Company, in accordance with a clause in the Act of that year which renewed the charter, for "the revival and improvement of literature and encouragement of the learned natives of India and for the introduction and improvement of a knowledge of the Sciences".[1] * Such was the sop to Mr. Wilberforce who, since 1792, had been inconveniently vocal in the Commons on measures for the moral and religious instruction of the natives. Possibly it would shelve for a time the missionaries' claim to right of entry without scrutiny or licence to the Company's domains.[2] Fortunately there need be no question of public colleges, for "natives of caste and reputation would not submit to their subordination and discipline". They might be left "to the practice of an usage long established among them of giving instruction at their own houses".[3] The sum voted was not large enough to produce dangerously far-reaching results; but something might perhaps be accomplished if the co-operation of the natives could be stimulated "by honorary marks of distinction and in some instances by grants of pecuniary assistance". Meanwhile inquiries should be made regarding the literature and sciences taught in the ancient establishments of Benares and the possibility of supplementing them.[3]

Such was the attitude of the Directors who had already met Wilberforce's plea for "missionaries and schoolmasters"[4] in 1792 by the statement that "the Hindus had as good a system of faith and morals as most people, and that it would be madness to attempt their conversion or to give them any more learning or any other description of learning than that which they already possessed". Sympathy with oriental culture had already been shown in a more practical and positive form by Warren Hastings, who had founded the Madrassa in Calcutta for Islamic studies and had encouraged Pandits and Maulvies by his private patronage and munificence.

* See Notes, pp. 290-300.

With the foundation of the Sanskrit College at Benares a few years later was associated the name of another servant of the Company, Jonathan Duncan.[1]

On these lines, and with due respect for indigenous culture and prejudice, a tentative and cautious advance was made for some ten years by the Committee of Public Instruction appointed for the spending of the allotment. Meanwhile acquaintance with the classical literature of the land was being extended by scholars such as Wilson and Prinsep, inspired by the labours of Sir William Jones and Colebrook;[2] and with this scholarly development came a deeper and more sympathetic study of the customs and religions of the land. The Orientalists, as they were called, on the Committee had visions of "a union of Hindu and European learning" and of the engrafting of European science and literature on the carefully tended tree of Indian culture. By 1821 there was a scheme in hand for a Sanskrit College at Calcutta where the "learned classes" would be imbued, through the medium of the sacred language, with a taste for English literature and science. Rumour reported in fact an indent for "a complete philosophical apparatus including a whirling table" and "the appointment of a Professor of experimental philosophy".[3]

But the enemy was already abroad in the land, quietly sowing tares among the seedlings and proclaiming abroad that the selected seed could yield nothing but a rank crop of heathen superstition and ignorance. Even the Directors had begun to veer round and were resenting by 1820 the stress laid on oriental poetry. They had suggested "any learning that is useful; but poetry is not useful and we suspect that there is little in Hindu or Mohammedan literature that is".[4] Unpleasant references were made to a previous minute of Lord Minto's recording that Indian "science and literature are in a progressive state of decay, that no branch of learning is cultivated but what is connected with the peculiar religious doctrines of the people".[5] Evidently

the Claphamites were again using the knocker in Leadenhall Street.[1] In India itself, despite a chilly official atmosphere of licences and checks, the great missionary pioneers were at work with no illusions as to the significance of oriental culture and with a firm conviction that western learning would most effectively win India for Christ. By 1818 William Carey had established his college at Serhampore and obtained a Danish charter for the conferring of degrees.[2] Fired by his example, Alexander Duff was maturing plans which were to find fruition in 1830 in the great " General Assembly's College " in Calcutta.[3]

From an unexpected quarter came help to the Anglicists in 1817, when at the instigation and under the leadership of David Hare, watchmaker and secularist, who disliked all superstition whether European or Indian, certain Hindu gentlemen united to establish the Vidyalaya (later " the Hindu College " and finally the " Presidency College ") for instruction in English and the expulsion of those features of Hindu life and letters which had roused their moral indignation. Prominent among these gentlemen was Ram Mohun Roy who, though deeply read in Sanskrit and at the time ignorant of English, (a fact perhaps not noted by the Anglicists), had left his father's house rather than countenance such abominations as Sati, sought occupation in European circles, and earned by his virtue and industry leisure and means to fight with European weapons the dragon of superstition and prejudice that was devastating his land.[4] It was Ram Mohun Roy and his friends who detected the insidious poison in the Sanskrit College scheme of the Orientalists and submitted a petition which inaugurated a controversy that was prolonged for more than ten years.[5] Macaulay by his eloquence and wealth of superlatives has often been made solely responsible for cutting off Indian education from the roots of national life. Let it be remembered here that he was not the prime mover, that his intervention was late and that the forces which he represented would probably

have been successful without his singularly tactless and blundering championship.[1] The movement towards Anglicisation originated in missionary and Hindu quarters before Macaulay had begun to sharpen his pen and select his epithets in the land of "exile," whose culture he was to traduce. And it was fostered by Hindu support for many years after he had left India. Far more important than that "master of superlatives" was Ram Mohun Roy, whose antecedents, career, and aspirations won for him friends among Hindu reformers and missionaries alike, and enabled him to unite these bodies against the common enemy.

It was twelve years before the controversy thus begun yielded its richest fruit in the minutes of Prinsep and Macaulay, the final protagonists, and came before Bentinck for final settlement. During these years events outside the educational world in India and England were turning the scales decisively in favour of the Anglicists.

In England a reformed House of Commons full of hope and energy had laid down the principle, in renewing the Company's charter in 1833, that "no native of the said Indian territories . . . shall by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour or any of them be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the Company". Discussion made it clear that what was contemplated was the appointment of "natives" in ever-increasing numbers to responsible offices. This policy was not merely a corollary of the principle that the Company was to administer the country for the benefit of its inhabitants. It was also necessary on grounds of economy and with a view to keeping within reasonable limits the cost of administration. And it involved the acquaintance of the Company's "native" agents with the language, modes of thought, and ideas of their masters. That they must also remain in close touch with the ideas and aspirations of their country and the life of its masses was forgotten.

There was also much talk of the development of the material resources of the country and of the training required for this essentially western work. And, if on the material and spiritual side there were no indigenous resources to be developed, importation from England would make good the deficit. Wilberforce was dead but his work lived after him. The reformed Parliament had given slavery the " coup de grâce " and had even paid down hard cash to complete effectively the great work. Flushed with victory, St. George was eager to attack oriental dragons and ready to enlist for the fray those missionaries and schoolmasters for whom Wilberforce had pleaded twenty years before. A clause in the Charter Act opening up India to all subjects of His Majesty's relieved the missionary of Company licence and supervision and left him free to supplement and intensify the " useful information," remedy for all evil, that the annual allotment for education would supply. Already Bentinck had legislated effectively against Sati, and by firm and vigorous measures was on his way to extirpate the Thugs. Both evils were connected intimately with the religion of the country and demonstrated its inherent immorality as clearly as their suppression proved its instability. It was an age that recognised the limitations as well as the potential usefulness of religion. If it did not hesitate to keep the Church in England in its place, it was not likely to fear a frontal attack on heathen superstition that was responsible not only for offences against human and divine law but for ignorance and contempt of commercial and industrial progress.

It was an age, too, that believed firmly in the efficacy of " useful information ".

> Truth has such a look and such a mien,
> As to be loved needs only to be seen.[1]

Mr. Chadband's sublime confidence in the mere contemplation of " the Terewth " will be remembered. There was no

evil that could not be expelled by instruction. While churches were being built at the public expense to counteract the revolutionary spirit, Thomas Campbell, Henry Brougham, and Joseph Hume were excogitating a Metropolitan University "for effectively and multifariously teaching, examining, exercising, and rewarding with honours in the liberal arts and sciences the youth of our middling rich people" who for £100 a year could obtain what Oxford and Cambridge supplied but grudgingly for more than twice that sum.[1] The establishment of London University, and the winning of its charter in 1826, provided "a point of union for all the friends of liberal views," who proved also that the education of the working classes was a triumphant cause by achieving in 1835 the first annual Parliamentary grant for this or indeed any educational purpose. There was a general demand for "accomplishments". "Whatever be the languages, whatever be the sciences which it is in any age or country the fashion to teach, the persons who become the greatest proficients in those languages and those sciences will generally be the flower of youth. . . . If instead of learning Greek, we learned the Cherokee, the man who understood the Cherokee best, who made the most correct and melodious Cherokee verses, who comprehended most accurately the effect of the Cherokee particles, would generally be a superior man to him who was destitute of those accomplishments."[2] If Macaulay attached this importance to any "information," it is not surprising that he expected a new heaven and a new earth from the broadcasting of such information as had made him the man he was. "No Hindu," he wrote in 1836, "who has received an English education, ever remains sincerely attached to his religion. . . . It is my firm belief that if our plans of education are followed up, there will not be a single idolater among the respectable classes in Bengal thirty years hence. And this will be effected without any effort to proselytise; without the smallest interference in their religious liberty; merely by the natural

operation of knowledge and reflection."[1] His views were characteristic of the age in which the Government system of education in India was shaped.

Such was the atmosphere in England and India while Bentinck was Governor-General. He had held office for nearly seven years before he was called on to decide finally how the annual educational allotment should be spent. During these years he had suppressed Sati against the advice of many experienced counsellors, who feared the incendiary effects of so drastic a measure, and he had inaugurated a most successful campaign against the Thugs. But there was still much in Indian life that seemed to call for drastic measures supported by enlightened public opinion. Englishmen of to-day come into contact mainly with those Indians who are inspired by patriotism and enabled by western training to bring out all that is best in their religion and culture, and they deplore not without reason the casting aside of Indian tradition and the mistrust of all things oriental in 1835. And it would be hard indeed to excuse, even with due reference to the times, the superficial gibes of Macaulay, his obstinate refusal to use the light thrown on the glories of Hindu literature by such men as Wilkins,[2] William Jones, or Wilson, and his forgetfulness of Burke's famous tribute to "a people for ages civilised and cultivated; cultivated by all the arts of polished life while we were yet in the woods". But the enlightened Indians of Bentinck's time, few enough in number, were ranged against, not with, "the ancient and venerable priesthood, the depository of their laws, learning, and history"; they did not find in them "the guides of the people while living and their consolation in death".[3] Never since the coming of the Aryans had indigenous culture sunk so low. Learning was almost dead, and the stream of spiritual life flowed almost unnoticed through a tangled growth of coarse idolatry. Infanticide and human sacrifice were rife, the consummation of child marriage was legally permissible at any age; the obscenities and

prostitution associated with temple worship were openly encouraged and enjoyed and the re-marriage of widows was forbidden by Hindu law. Conscious though we are to-day of the intense hatred inspired by the flaunting of the moral superiority of the West, we cannot be surprised, and it is possible even to be elated, by the proud words of John Lawrence: "We are here by our own moral superiority, by the force of circumstances and by the will of Providence. These alone constitute our charter of Government, and in doing the best we can for the people we are bound by our conscience and not by theirs."[1] It was some such feeling that inspired Bentinck when he had to set the educational course for the country. We may perhaps see the working of Nemesis in the contemptuous attitude towards western civilisation adopted less than a hundred years later by many in India who owe their language and their ideas to its influence. This contempt, in so far as it is genuine, arises from an attempted synthesis of Eastern and Western culture which is still far from complete, and from the failure on our side in the early days, and on the Indian side in later times, to see the infinite possibilities of such a synthesis or the folly of wholesale condemnation of any ancient and deeply-rooted culture and traditions. In so far as it is spurious, it represents an attempt to suppress a sense of inferiority which has worked as a most poisonous complex in the mind of the Indian intelligentsia.

As a gallant champion then of what he firmly believed to be a higher type of civilisation, Bentinck was favourably disposed towards those who would familiarise India most speedily with its external forms. The support of the Sanskrit scholar, Wilson, only damaged the cause of the orientalists in his eyes. For was it not Wilson who had warned him with unnecessary and, as it subsequently appeared, ill-founded, zeal against the grave risks of his campaign against the burning of widows? And were not the orientalists opposed by the most enlightened representatives

of the culture they were defending. Even the testimony of Alexander Duff was made superfluous by the memory of the eloquence of Ram Mohun Roy, now at rest in English soil.

On the more material side, Bentinck found in the claims of the Anglicists the solution of the problem immediately confronting him, the supply of competent and trustworthy native servants of the Company. And to a ruler who was slowly making up his mind to abolish Persian, the Mogul legacy, as the language of the courts and higher offices, the rapid extension of the English tongue was specially attractive.[1] To all this the financial instinct that was so strong and sound in Bentinck added the prospect of substantial increase in revenue from commercial and industrial intercourse with the West, opened up by education to the resources of the East.

It is difficult to believe that Bentinck, with his own personal convictions fortified and stimulated by his experience of India and accounts of prevailing tendencies at home, could have hesitated long over the file of " Orientalist controversy " papers. It is even harder to believe that the eloquence of Macaulay's minute could have been needed to convert him to the Anglicist position. Macaulay's refusal to undertake the chairmanship of the very troublesome and verbose Committee of Public Instruction unless his policy were accepted was more likely to influence Bentinck than his arguments. The Governor-General was a man who by his own confession " read very little and that with much pain ".[2] If he did not skip Macaulay's misleading comparison of English and Sanskrit literature, he probably ignored it. He had been long enough in the country, and was sufficiently honest, to realise with Sir Thomas Munro that there were still signs in India that denoted a civilised people, though he might not have proceeded in company with that sturdy and experienced ruler of the South, to argue that " if civilisation is to become an article of trade between the two countries,

I am convinced that England will gain by the import of cargo".[1] There is no evidence that Bentinck intended like Macaulay to exclude for ever oriental studies from the sphere of education. As a practical man he was considering the expenditure of a very small sum of money. English civilisation was sound, Hindu civilisation had obvious defects. For the administration and development of the country, English-knowing natives were required. Such money then as was at the time available should be devoted "to English education alone" for "the great object of the British Government should be the promotion of English literature and science".[2] Shortly after these words were written and as though to mark India's departure on a westward road, a Brahmin demonstrator, before a hushed and breathless class of medical students, dissected a human body.[3]

It is characteristically English that ultimate aims are hidden away from view in the final enunciation of policy that concluded this controversy. And the study of the papers that record its history is complicated by the constant confusion of aims and methods for achieving these aims and by the fragmentary and elusive nature of all the references to great and leading principles. The final orders and some of the minutes that preceded them suggest the view that "English education" is a sufficient end in itself, that, if only the empty receptacle that represented the collective mind of the Indian student could be filled to the brim with the right kind of information, the quality of the contents would determine the use of the receptacle. We are reminded at times, as we read the records, of Mr. Gandhi's dictum of 1924: "The end we do not know. For me it is enough to know the means. The means and the end are convertible terms in my philosophy of life."[4] But such a conclusion would not do full justice to the spirit of the age or the genuine, though inadequately thought out, convictions of its leading representatives. The aims that ultimately inspired this concentration on English literature and science were—

(*a*) The training of Hindus and Mohammedans to assist in the administration of the country.

(*b*) The increase of its material resources and prosperity, and

(*c*) The enlightened co-operation of the Indian peoples in the suppression of moral and social evils attributed to superstitious ignorance.

For the achievement of these aims, Bentinck could count on the support of public opinion at home and of the missionaries and a small but influential band of Hindu reformers in India.

Underlying all these aims was a deep-rooted conviction of the superiority of Western civilisation and culture to anything produced, (in those days culture was " produced " and never grew of itself), or capable of being produced in the East, and a firm belief that the one type of civilisation by its intrinsic superiority could easily and without friction expel the other.[1] Few would have gone so far as Macaulay in the expression of this conviction. Many were ready to admit the archæological and administrative value of oriental studies and would have encouraged the historian and commentator to expose more fully the origin and nature of the customs and ideas that were marked down for extinction. But all who welcomed the " final " settlement of 1835 looked forward with Macaulay, though not perhaps so optimistically, to the day when the educated Indian would be " English in taste, opinions, morals, and intellect," and when the English connection with India would thereby be firmly and for ever established.[2]

" Nothing," said an experienced administrator and keen student of India, " looks so simple at the beginning as dealing with Asiatics." [3] Nowhere are the hopes of 1835 more clearly and vigorously expressed than in the book on " The Education of the People of India," published in 1838 by C. E. Trevelyan, the Indian administrator, brother-in-law and disciple of Macaulay. Though the training of India to govern

itself was not recognised explicitly in 1835 as one of the aims of education, the growth of a demand for self-government was undoubtedly admitted as a possible if not probable result. As far back as 1824, Sir Thomas Munro looked forward to a time when " the character of our Indian subjects " would have been so far improved as to " enable them to govern and protect themselves ".[1] Macaulay saw that these subjects " having become instructed in European knowledge may in some future age demand European institutions ". And he added, " whether such a day will ever come I know not. But never will I attempt to avert or retard it. Whenever it comes, it will be the proudest day in English history." [2] Trevelyan went further and saw in English education the only possible means of converting what was at the time but a precarious into a permanent connection. " No effort of policy can prevent the nations from ultimately regaining their independence." English education will achieve by gradual reform what any other method will do by revolution. " The nations will not rise against us because we shall stoop to raise them. . . . We shall exchange profitable subjects for still more profitable allies . . . and establish a strict commercial union between the first manufacturing and the first producing country in the world." [3]

It is the task of subsequent chapters to discuss in detail the extent to which these aims have been realised, and the responsibility of the system of education for success or failure. But a very general survey of the question is required here as a prelude to the criticism, from an educational standpoint, of the attitude adopted at the start in the formulation of aims and the selection of methods for their achievement.

It cannot be denied that the ninety years that have elapsed since 1835 have produced a large and competent body of Indian administrators and officials, from members of the supreme Executive Council down to the clerks of subordinate offices, acquainted not only with the English

language but in varying degrees with English methods and English ideals, that there has been a distinct development of the commercial and industrial resources of the country, that many moral and social evils have been swept away, that the religions of the country have received new life from reform movements which have brought them into closer touch with ethical ideals and have found expression in useful forms of social service, that Christianity has raised vast masses of the population from abject servitude and degrading practices to a life of useful and happy citizenship, and that the claims of India to a large and steadily increasing measure of political independence have won recognition from the representatives of the English people. On the other side, omitting such controversial points as the economic conditions of the masses in towns and villages, we must set the admitted facts that the direct influence of western ideas and methods is felt within a very small, though perhaps important, section of a vast population, that it is within this small section that friendship between Englishman and Indian is becoming increasingly difficult every year, that western culture far from driving out its eastern rival has indirectly fostered a belief in that rival's merits and a determination to make good its claims before the world, and that the moral superiority of Europe is widely questioned and by many denied, while those who urge complete liberation from its "satanic" influence receive respectful and sympathetic attention. Here again controversial points have been omitted; we need not here take it upon ourselves to decide whether the admitted demand for a large measure of political independence has or has not been accompanied by any aptitude for the political institutions of Europe and whether western training has overcome the oriental leaning towards autocracy. The facts that are accepted by all justify the broad conclusion that the seed sown in 1835 has produced a crop in some respects far richer, and in others far poorer, than that expected by the sowers and that the soil has

yielded to their treatment fruits for which they would be anxious to disclaim all responsibility. The task before us is not to express any opinion on the value of the aims in 1835 or on the value of what has actually been accomplished, but to scrutinise from the educational standpoint the practicability of these aims and the methods adopted for their achievement, with a view primarily to determining the responsibility of those who have been entrusted with the task of carrying out the Government policy.

Such limitations enhance the difficulty of the task. It is hard to disentangle educational problems from the web of conflicting aspirations and ideals in which they are produced and involved, and it is particularly difficult, but very salutary, for a schoolmaster to remember that he is only the agent of forces which as schoolmaster he must understand but can never hope to control. If there should appear at times a tendency to disclaim responsibility for what is popularly condemned and to assume credit for what has pleased the laymen, let it be ascribed to the habits of a profession which is usually on the defensive. Our general purpose is to impute neither praise nor blame, but to show what part has been played and can be played by school or college in the clash of East and West.[1]

CHAPTER II

ANALYSIS OF AIMS

Importance of clear and compelling purpose—Were aims of 1835 clearly defined and uniformly recognised ?—Orientalists not finally suppressed—Vagueness and compromise—Cultural substitution or synthesis—Variety of attitude towards western culture—Macaulay, Duff, Ram Mohun Roy—Lack of common purpose weakens influence of the West.

THE efficacy of any system of education depends on the fulfilment of certain fundamental conditions. What are these conditions and how far have they been fulfilled in India ?

The system must in the first place be animated by a definite aim, or by several such aims not inconsistent with one another. There must be an emphatic recognition by the community or agency ultimately responsible for the system of certain explicit values, of a mode of life with an absolute value for which the beneficiaries of the system are to be prepared. The efficacy of the English public school, for instance, has been due largely to its reflecting faithfully the aims and aspirations of the English gentleman. To " play the game " is the attitude towards life which is aimed at by the community on which these schools depend. The schoolmaster's success in the development of such an attitude is facilitated by the general atmosphere and traditions of the society that he serves. He is but a representative and agent of a keen and masterful communal ideal. Other examples of systems rendered efficacious by such clearness of aim are the Jesuit system, the Prussian state system from 1806 till 1914, and generally the whole system of ecclesiastical education in the Middle Ages. Examples of the loss of

strength due to the absence of clear aims or their conflict may be found in the system of Council elementary and secondary schools in England, or in the Universities generally of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The aims that inspired the fateful decision of 1835 were, as we have tried to show above, capable of definition though not in fact very explicitly defined by all. Recognition of their value and practicability was a deep and vital conviction with such men as Duff, Macaulay, and Trevelyan. They were going to ensure for India " the vast moral and material blessings " arising out of general diffusion of useful knowledge " which India may under Providence derive from her connexion with England ".[1] Their work was to take the place of a system that had been " so skilfully contrived for arresting the progress of the human mind as to exhibit it at the end of 2000 years fixed at nearly the precise point at which it was established ". And the natives, " stimulated by the prospect of honourable and lucrative employment could not fail to be struck by our moral and intellectual superiority ".[2] But these convictions were not permanent nor were they for long very widely felt among those responsible for setting the course or for actually guiding the ship through the shoals and cross currents of oriental life. Though the Orientalists had been defeated, their belief in the toughness of oriental culture survived. In his final minute of protest, Prinsep made a spirited appeal for a fair field and no favour. Leave the natives to choose their own courses of education, encourage all equally, and content yourselves with directing their attention to what is true in science and good in literature.[3] Macaulay, after a resolute, and in his opinion successful, attempt, as Chairman of the Committee of Public Instruction, to establish unassailably the foundations of a purely western education left the land of his exile in 1837. By 1839 Lord Auckland was allowing grants for oriental publications and refusing to starve existing oriental institutions.[4] The Englishman's genius for compromise and for

" seeing the other fellow's point of view " [1] was in fact not to be suppressed despite the protests of Duff. Concentration on western studies remained the watchword and was confirmed by Sir Charles Wood's famous despatch of 1854.[2] But as a watchword it was never wholeheartedly accepted. In 1853 the Government N.W. Provinces, in noting with regret how few Anglo-vernacular students had secured public employment, expressed a determination to give preference to men " proficient in a sound and enlarged education added to a knowledge of the Sanskrit language and familiarity with the Hindi language ".[3] And as years went on, and more especially after the Mutiny of 1857 had revealed the strength of oriental sentiment and suspicion, the number of those who believed in synthesis rather than substitution, and even of those who disputed the possibility of synthesis, was steadily increased. It is a far cry from Macaulay's minute to the pronouncement in the Government of India's resolution on educational policy in 1913 that they attached " great importance to the cultivation and improvement of Oriental studies ". India must " investigate and retain interest in her ancient civilisation with the help of western methods ". But the pronouncement merely emphasised and accepted an educational principle that had never been wholly dormant and that had for many years been receiving corroboration and driving power from the remorseless logic of facts. The theory that when two civilisations meet there must be a fight for supremacy to the death was in its essence Prussian rather than English. German missionaries in India have often been puzzled by the deference shown to Indian tradition and sentiment by English officials. But these officials have been by temperament and circumstances prevented from acting as wholehearted missionaries of western culture. Temperamentally they have been sceptical of change and more than ready to see what is good in old-established customs and belief. As agents of a Government which has always counted on the public goodwill as well

as upon force, they have been ordered to avoid all possible offence to Indian feeling. They have been attacking a citadel whose lines of defence they have been told and are inclined to respect and tilting at a dragon whose malevolence must not be emphasised.

The substitution of one culture for another has not then been as a watchword educationally effective. That our incurable tendency to swap horses in the middle of the stream has in this instance worked for the ultimate good of India few would perhaps deny. But the educational result has been a zig-zag course, and the wind has never been fully behind us. Our deference to oriental culture has never cleared us of the charge of trying to westernise the East nor removed the suspicion of our innate, though at times successfully concealed, conviction of the superiority of the West.

The other, and what may be called subsidiary, aims of Government have been on the whole clearly and effectively maintained throughout. The efficacy of such definite precision of aim is manifest in the efficiency and general tone of the Government servants trained in our institutions and in the vast difference between the attitude towards moral and social evils prevalent in 1835 and to-day. If education has not had so marked an effect on the material and economic condition of the country, and some would claim that it has, the cause is to be sought elsewhere than in any vagueness or indecision as to the value of this aim.

But what may be called the cultural aim demands one further reference. Not only was its force diminished by the gradual transformation of " substitution " into " synthesis ". Among the responsible agents there was no unanimity on the subject of " values " in western civilisation.

It would not perhaps be unjust to say that Macaulay and the typical Englishmen of his age, whom he represented so brilliantly, believed that God and Mammon were ultimately, and in a fully enlightened age, reconcilable. They

were certainly out to make the best of both worlds, and material prosperity, though distinguishable from spiritual salvation, was not only consistent with it but also in itself a sign of grace. Man was not only a seeker after God but also an "instrument of wealth," and a potent reason for Sunday observance was that it meant more productive work on the other days. If the Government could not in its own schools ensure spiritual salvation by dogmatic teaching it was confidently expected that "the intellectual materials of purely secular studies would take the place of religion and spiritual traditions and kindle a sense of personal duty". And a man who did his duty to his employer and the State, would, like Dean Gaisford's student of Greek, be spiritually on the right lines and materially a source of profit to himself and others.

But this was hardly western civilisation as appreciated by Ram Mohun Roy, Dwarkanath Tagore,[1] and the small band of reforming Hindus that had joined Macaulay to fight the Orientalists. To them it was essentially a means of combating existing moral and social evils. If in subsequent generations this ethical aim became dulled and materialised, if the prospect of Government employment gradually prevailed as an educational stimulus, it cannot be said that the Indian outlook on life or conception of values ever became unmistakably and aggressively Victorian. It would be truer to say that Government education departmentalised their life so effectively that any consistent scheme of values or uniformity of attitude was impossible. To western education they looked for material support and for means whereby to repair the foundations of their ethical life. But their spiritual home was elsewhere, in their family circle and among a community untouched by western ideas. Their driving force, spiritual stimulus, and conception of values were wholly distinct from those which had animated the efforts of Bentinck and Macaulay.

The attitude of Duff and his colleagues and successors

to western civilisation was equally distinct. To Macaulay it was an ultimate objective, an arena or resting-place in which, but for the inscrutable decrees of Providence, a man could strive or recreate himself in joy and peace for ever. To Duff it was merely a stage, inevitable but transitional, on the road to the city of God. On such a road western literature and science were but signposts. Only the infallible chart provided in the Bible could save the travellers from useless, perhaps dangerous, divagations. Their aim was spiritual, and only on spiritual foundations well and truly laid could any structure of absolute value be raised. Against the common enemies, Orientalism and moral evil, they could support the originators of the Government system. But when it came to positive and constructive work, they realised the limitations and dangers of unity inspired only by a common foe. Partly for financial reasons and partly from a natural and justifiable desire to present a united front to the enemy, they found themselves involved in a system which has always seemed to India to ignore the value and significance of religion. Precluded from official support of any form of religion, the Government has failed to convince India either by frequent references to the educational value of all religion or by allowing schools and colleges enjoying its support not only to teach religion but even to enforce attendance at such teaching. What India has noted is the amount of public money spent on Government and Board schools and colleges where all religion is definitely excluded from the curriculum, the exclusion of religious instruction, " the basis of character formation," from the inquiries and scrutiny of educational officers, and the acceptance by mission schools, for purposes of grant and public examination, of a purely secular curriculum, success in which opens up to their pupils all the most attractive and responsible posts in public and professional life, and from which religious instruction, as the public thinks, though not, it must be admitted, as the missionary would fain believe, is carefully segregated like

a dangerous explosive. We are not suggesting here that the Missions have failed in their primary duty or that the difficult position in which they have found themselves has invalidated their work. That has to be discussed elsewhere. We are concerned here only with the divergence of aims and its bearing on the efficacy of the system. That system is based essentially on western culture. But, owing to the fundamental differences of attitude towards western culture manifested by its champions, India has been left in some doubt as to its real significance. In defending her own civilisation she has been able to deal separately with each of the two aggressive forces, and she has never had to face united forces directed and inspired by one master mind or one irresistible purpose.

CHAPTER III

PRACTICABILITY OF AIMS

Comparative efficacy of communal and externally imposed ideals—Resisting power of Indian culture under-estimated—The Roman Empire's task and that of British in India—No racial or cultural antagonism under Rome—Ignorance and lack of imagination encourage reliance on Indian docility.

THE efficacy of any system of education depends not only on the nature of its aim, which has been discussed above, but also on the character of the community to which it is to be applied. That community ought to be inspired, vaguely and subconsciously perhaps, by the same aims and ideas as the controlling and responsible agents of the system. The most effective education is that which represents the efforts of a community to impose its cultural life with its ideas and aspirations on the rising generation. This is to be found, partially at least, in the English public school. The schoolmaster's chief difficulty here is to guard against a too complete subordination of the individual mind and will to that of the community; to secure that power of initiative and measure of independence which is a condition of growth and progress. Had any system been devised which embodied the aims and traditions of Hindu family life or the Mohammedan community, it might have been difficult to develop such initiative and independence. But there would have been no question as to the system being in the fullest sense real and effective. The stagnation, if one may say so, that might have resulted, would have been like that of a lake in a tropical garden, full of life and colour. But this condition was of necessity left unfulfilled when a foreign Government

decreed the importation of an alien culture. Forced though they were, gradually, to adapt their system to cultural and social tradition, they could count on no spontaneous and lively co-operation from the community while the adaptation was in process. It took them many years to realise that readiness on the part of Ramaswami and his son to enjoy the material fruits of western education was far different from wholehearted acceptance by Ramaswami's mother, wife, and mother-in-law of the value of that education.

If the community is not inspired by similar aims, it ought at least to be devoid of any aims capable of definition and expression and without a strongly marked social, racial, and religious life. Or it must be sufficiently plastic and docile to allow modification, or even uprooting, of pre-existing cultural aims.

There can be no doubt that Bentinck and Macaulay thought that these conditions were fulfilled. Their optimism has been emphasised above in another connection. It rested on a conviction, for which the miserably low level at which they found Indian learning and literature was partly responsible, that India was " as inanimate clay to be moulded at the potter's whim, not a complex living organisation with a distinctive individuality of its own ".[1] Even Trevelyan, who was scholarly and honest enough to recognise the significance of Indian antiquities, regarded the Indian of his day as the Roman of Cæsar's time might have conceived the Gaul, in his isolation steeped in apathetic ignorance but easily convinced, when brought into contact with Rome, of the superiority of its mode of life and eager to share its benefits.

Nothing could have been more misleading than the analogy of the Roman Empire which pervades the pages of Trevelyan's book. English civilisation was to absorb India as smoothly and painlessly as Roman life and manners transformed Gaul, Spain, and Africa. Such an analogy attributes to Rome aims, methods, and results that are not

established by history and overlooks fundamental differences between the Roman and Indian Empires.

It is true that in the first two centuries after Christ " the ' nations ' of the Empire insensibly melted away into the Roman name and people ".[1] But in our sense of the word there were, with one exception, no nations. Nationalism, or the struggle to find and perpetuate political and cultural forms for the expression of a strongly marked racial feeling, existed only among the Jews, and these had to be suppressed when virulent by brute force. There was never any question of substituting Roman for Hebraic culture.

Apart from the Jew the Greek presented to the advancing Roman a well-established and lively civilisation and culture. But it was not associated with any disturbing forms of political expression, and the Romans, when they had once established law and order in the eastern half of their Empire, were only too ready to borrow from their subjects much that enriched their literature and art and to protect for the benefit of posterity the Greek genius for philosophy and science. Had they ever undertaken seriously and permanently the task of administration east of the Euphrates they would have had to face problems more closely allied to ours in India. But this was not to be. In the western half of their Empire they found nothing corresponding in any way to the ancient and stubborn culture of the Hindus, nothing that had grown strong in geographical isolation under powerful dynasties backed by shrewd priestcraft, nothing that had acquired pride from its success in absorbing the beliefs and customs of primitive races and in resisting all the disintegrating influence of a Buddha or a Mohammed. Nor did they find any idea so potent or uncompromising as that which inspired the Islamic theocracy.

The character of imperial Rome was not such as to challenge the subject races and to stimulate racial animosity by the flaunting of their moral or intellectual superiority or by establishing an educational system to prove it. Rome

had not and could not have any racial feeling. For by Hadrian's time the term "Roman" had ceased to have racial significance. Scattered widely over the Empire, the Romans of the first century A.D. had been blended with the provincial by intermarriage and a common life, marred by no caste or colour feeling on either side. Women took a lively part in the intercourse. No climatic difficulties necessitated periodic return to the home country. In fact, as Seneca said, "Where the Roman has conquered he makes himself at home". A century before, Cicero had referred to "Gallia referta negotiatorum, plena Romanorum civium". The provincial was soon familiar with Roman home life and recreations and realised that he could, by military or civil service, obtain for himself not merely the name of Roman but also community of life and admission by marriage to the proudest families of Rome. "A nation of Rome was gradually formed in the provinces by admitting the most faithful and deserving of the provincials to the freedom of Rome." The grandsons of Gauls who fought against Cæsar governed provinces and were admitted into the senate of Rome. Spain by 100 A.D. had given to the Roman world four of the most famous post-Augustan writers and an Emperor.

Rome, following the advice of Virgil, claimed for its function the maintenance of law and order. This once established, there was never any difficulty in coming to an understanding with the people of the country. Unlike Macaulay the Roman held that "the form of superstition which had received the sanction of time and experience was the best adapted to the climate and inhabitants of a country". It might even bear transportation. "In Tiberim defluxit Orontes." Eastern gods received "the freedom of the city" and an Emperor's wife consorted with the Jews. Inscriptions were written to the gods of a country thanking them for their share in the subjection of their devotees. In Celtic Britain indigenous culture, not strong enough to

resist the flood that was fertilising the western world, left its mark on the life and art of the tolerant conquerors.

The result of Roman rule was a cosmopolitan not a Roman civilisation, devoid of racial feeling. In Newcastle a Syrian merchant records in a Latin inscription the death of his British wife.[1] The choice of language was a tribute to the rule which had made such a marriage possible and not a sign of its cultural exclusiveness.

It was perhaps fortunate for India that the aims and methods of the English, owing largely to circumstances over which they had no control, differed so widely from that of the Romans. " The obedience of the Roman world was uniform, voluntary, and permanent. The provincial deprived of political strength or union insensibly sunk into the languid indifference of private life." The Empire fell into decay from lack of animating ideas. It was marked by " blind deference to the past " and " cold and servile imitation ". Writers of original genius disappeared and " a cloud of critics, compilers, and commentators darkened the face of learning ". If such a cloud is visible also in India we have at least not brought in " an age of indolence ". Under Rome the unimpeded growth of a colourless and uniform civilisation meant ultimate death. Christianity, through the barbarian, saved the western world but not the Roman Empire. Under English rule in India the impact of two civilisations may have produced unrest. But it has also sustained and stimulated life.

The English confidence of 1835 in the docility of the peoples of India was due, as we have tried to show above, to the conditions in which they found India and to the fact that oriental studies in the West were only in their infancy. The imagination of a Burke was required to see India as it had been and might yet be. What was it that they failed to detect in Hindu and Mohammedan life? What latent forces ought to have been considered in framing an educational policy and devising machinery for its

execution? It will be necessary to consider separately, and as briefly as possible, Hindus and Mohammedans before attempting to draw any general conclusions. The fact that this separate treatment is necessitated by a religious distinction suggests the most essential characteristic that was overlooked in 1835.

CHAPTER IV

RESISTING FORCES IN INDIA

Characteristics of Hinduism—Pervasive and elusive—Creed *v.* custom—Spread of Christianity in Europe compared—Plastic Conservatism of Hinduism—Due to history and geographical conditions—Experience of disruptive forces—Caste a spiritual driving force not artificial institution—Its adaptability—English analogy—Only professional life moulded by our education—Caste dominates domestic and personal life—Dualism encouraged by family system—Power of senior members and domestic rites—Caste and family ignored by our education—The strength of Islam—Simplicity and proselytising zeal—Its attitude to education—Impregnability of its social system—Failure of western civilisation dissociated from religion to affect whole life and personality—Effect on Christian missions of association with a "neutral" Government—No distinctive treatment of Hinduism and Islam—Uniform system avoids offence only by failure to satisfy—Hindu and Moslem with fundamental life untouched—Remain mutually antagonistic.

It was not clearly understood that Hindu life and thought, which it was proposed to westernise, were essentially religious. Politically India has no history. It is only the "deep lying and fundamental unity of Hindu culture"[1] that makes its history possible, and this culture depends on the spiritual atmosphere which pervades every detail of social and domestic life. Hinduism is not a racial expression. The Aryan invaders whose ideas and mode of life modified and gradually absorbed the social and religious systems of a continent are not distinguishable now from the primitive and indigenous races that they transformed. Hinduism is "a scheme of living so interwoven into the whole existence of those whom it concerns, and placing every natural habit and duty so entirely on the religious basis as the immediate reason of it, that to distinguish between sacred and profane is almost impossible".[2] A Hindu's religion is his customary

rule of everyday life, governing the food he eats, the clothes he wears, and the things he touches, resting not on doctrine but on custom, birth, and status. It is " the scrupulous observance of certain practices and the unquestioning maintenance of certain forms the meaning of which is almost unknown ".[1]

This pervasive influence of religion was beyond the comprehension of the normal English mind in the '30's of last century. The life of England was in fact far more Christian in tone and atmosphere than was apparent to minds preoccupied with material cares. But religion, as they were conscious of it, was essentially a Sunday affair. The Christian virtues, resting on a Christian creed, which were emphasised on Sundays, were permitted, though not without a protest from at least one leader of the nation, to " intrude on the privacy of domestic life " throughout the week. But the Englishman would have denied in theory what at times he admitted in practice, that these virtues must colour the social, economic, and political sides of national life. And so to him religion in India was a factor that could be isolated. Indirectly it could be treated by a dose of " useful information ". Even if it did not yield, as was probable, to this treatment, it would not have more influence on the public life and character of the peoples of India than Christianity seemed to exercise over the public life of England.

The missionaries could not of course be accused of this dualism. Life in all its aspects was to Duff synonymous with religion. But accustomed as they were to associate the western virtues with a very definite and carefully elaborated Christian creed, they were convinced that the Hindu, enlightened on the one hand through secular instruction by the attractive picture of these virtues as compared with oriental vice and confronted on the other by the creed to which these virtues owed their origin, would readily capitulate. They overrated in fact the efficacy of a creed as

an antidote to custom, and did not see that just because of its amorphous and protean condition and its absence of any assailable doctrines Hinduism was a dangerous and elusive enemy "as the air invulnerable". A man who will "believe" anything, but will continue in spite of any such belief to do only what custom and the pressure of family or community require him to do, must be attacked far more warily and persistently than the man whose life and actions depend essentially on belief capable of accurate definition and are therefore open to concentrated assault, or than the man who is prepared to believe nothing. Hinduism in fact has defied summary treatment with the elusive mysteriousness of the Cheshire cat. Pervasive and defiant

> The deities hover and swarm
> Like the wild bees heard in the tree-tops or the gusts of a gathering storm.[1]

Missionary and layman alike were misled by the rapidity with which Christianity pervaded the western world when once it was allowed by the Imperial authorities a fair and open field. They thought that it must have the same disintegrating effect in India as it had shown among the Celts, Goths, and Teutons. They forgot that, from the time of Constantine, Christianity was not only tolerated by the Empire but backed by it. The barbarians "found Christianity in the Empire, imperious and pompous, Christianity enthroned by the side of kings and sometimes paramount above them". By them it could be no more dissociated from the material comforts and economic prosperity of the lands they coveted and the power they respected than salt from the sea.

They forgot too that Hinduism, unlike the barbarian religions, had learned by the experience of ages how to deal with disruptive forces and the attacks of enemies from without and reformers from within. It had survived a Buddha within its fold, an Aurungzeb without. Its survival was due to its amazing capacity for adaptation to

circumstances, its power of absorbing what was life-giving, of modifying what was non-essential and of rejecting everything that would have weakened the foundations of its social system. Such a living organism was quite capable of absorbing western ideas and information without surrendering its essential characteristics. To the radical nothing is more baffling than a plastic conservatism. The Brahmin of 1800 was as different from the Brahmin of Asoka's time as he is from the Brahmin of to-day. In spite of, or perhaps because of, this, he remains a Brahmin. The East, and particularly the Hindu portion of it, is not " unchanging ". For it is still alive and owes its life to its capacity for change.

The Aryan, in fact, who turned eastward and crossed the Himalayas had become, largely for geographical reasons, fundamentally different from his brother who journeyed westward. Entering a continent safeguarded by mountains, desert, and sea, endowed with large areas of fertile soil in a productive climate, he found aboriginals not violently aggressive and ready to be absorbed by a virile and intellectual race and was able to develop in quietness and prosperity, before the outside shocks began, a social system permeated by religious ideas and customs which years of peaceful meditation had ripened and hallowed. The Aryan who overspread central Europe and pushed thence west and south entered lands and encountered a climate that yielded only to hard and persistent toil. Faced with the constant need of defending hardly won and easily assailed possessions, and driven by economic stress or following tribes to press even further south or west, he developed a more materialistic and combative tendency. Economic and political interests were more vital and urgent than spiritual. The individual was left more often to fight for himself and was far less dependent on the will of the community. To any force that was economically or politically superior they exposed a social system that did not derive cohesion and stability from any spiritual ideas.[1]

The religious basis of Hindu society and culture is shown in two institutions, the educational significance of which was overlooked in 1835. Caste and the joint family system, though closely connected, require separate treatment, if their educational bearing is to be appreciated. The educational significance of the wrong estimate formed of religion in relation to Indian life must be discussed generally after the bearing of Islam on the question has been considered.

The origin of caste is unknown to us, but we know now that Trevelyan was characteristically and dangerously wrong in calling it an "artificial institution".[1] There is general agreement that the term connotes a group of families intimately united by peculiar rules for the observance of ceremonial purity, particularly rules governing diet and marriage, and fenced off by such rules from other castes. Admission to the caste is conferred by birth alone, and continuance of membership depends, not on occupation or belief, but on "dharma" or the performance of certain practical duties. In its essence it provides the spiritual driving force of Hinduism. For it assigns to a man at his birth the rights and duties that are to dominate his life and the sphere within which he is spiritually to function. All Hindus are alike in having some such sphere. But in any one life the sphere is determined by society and birth. Transfer from one sphere to another is the reward of "dharma," but a reward that is deferred to a subsequent life. Caste is therefore "an infallible index of the stage of spiritual progress that a soul has reached in its transmigrational progress". Membership thereof imposes a certain moral restraint and sense of decency or fitness, though the degree and manner of restraint must vary according to the caste. It subordinates definitely the individual to the community, the present to the past, and inculcates the ideas of mutual service and compromise. It is conservative but plastic, stiffened by any opposition from

without, but constantly being modified by pressure within. New castes are constantly being formed and caste rules are constantly being adapted. But the fundamental spirit remains the same. The Brahmin will now go to school in leather boots or in his commercial life handle leather goods. But the spirit that once debarred him from contact with the hides of animals survives and expresses itself in some other form equally unintelligible and mysterious to us. Caste is spiritually aristocratic, excluding whole groups from stages of spiritual enlightenment open to more fortunate groups as decisively as Plato or Aristotle excluded the slave or artisan from the completely good life. But it is democratic in so far as it cuts clean across all divisions based on wealth or official status and puts the cook or the cultivator with an income of £12 a year on a social footing with a member of the supreme Executive Council.[1]

Any European equivalent of caste is inconceivable; for we have not the religious ideas of transmigration and "Karma" that underlie it. We can perhaps get a little nearer to it in imagination if we conceive a social group in England composed exclusively of old Etonians, able to intermarry or interdine only with Etonian families, sending their sons to an Eton, reserved exclusively for the sons of Etonians and staffed exclusively by old Etonians, and their daughters, if anywhere, to a female counterpart of Eton. We will suppose that the day comes when Eton fades away, owing perhaps to an economic crisis or political upheaval in England. But the Etonian society persists, with its inner life firmly rooted in certain fundamental ideas and outwardly quite competent to adjust its mode of living to the changed times. Its sons are sent to crammers or technical institutes at home or abroad to be prepared for professions and trades once unknown in the Etonian world. A daily bath, the concealment of surprise or any deep emotion, and ability to "play the game," constitute the "dharma" or body of social duties. Conscious that these duties are being per-

formed and that the danger of their ever being forgotten is averted by restricting marriage to the Etonian circle, the Etonian performs cheerfully the daily task, whatever it be, mixes with other groups and does not hesitate to subject his sons to the composite atmosphere of the crammer's establishment or the influence of a levelling and democratic curriculum. He knows that at the end of the day's work he will dress for dinner and relapse into the atmosphere that alone for him has absolute value. He knows that his son will never regard the world of examinations and certificates as real or satisfying and will continue to dream of " playing the game " before a quietly appreciative and well-dressed crowd at " Lord's ". The altered times have changed the Etonian but left him separate still from all other groups in England. And the educational institutions that the times have brought with them are accepted by him as part of the inevitable but merely superficial changes. They do not touch the innermost soul, the scheme of absolute values, that makes his society significant.

If such a state of things in England can be faintly imagined, we shall have some idea of the futility of hoping, as Bentinck and Macaulay hoped, that the heart of Hindûism could be touched by an educational system that ignored the strength of caste. For occupational purposes the system has been used. But occupation to a Hindu is not the sole nor even the primary aim of life. His object is not to earn a living but to live happily and " well," and the " good " life is that which is defined, made possible, and restricted, by the rights and duties, the customs and ceremonies, of his caste. If the heart of Hinduism is to be changed, the transformation must be effected through caste or caste must be smashed. The government system, while tolerating caste within well-defined limits, has not attempted to use it as an educational factor.

The second and closely connected basic institution of Hinduism that must be taken into account by education

is the joint family system. Caste which crystallises the customs and ceremonies, not the creed, the sentiments and prejudices, not the reasoned thought, of a community is in itself a development of family life. Hinduism is a communal organisation of households. In a household there may live together fifty or more members representing three or four generations. Earnings are pooled and sentiment and custom are dictated by tradition as interpreted by the oldest man and still more the senior mother-in-law of the household. In the official or commercial world a junior member of a family may be in a position to issue orders or bestow patronage on one of his seniors. In the family world this counts for nothing. A junior member may be an expert in English literature and possessed of scientific or philosophic lore that demonstrates the futility of every religious rite and ceremony of the home. But he must take his orders in the home from his grandfather who can and will read nothing but the Ramayana and from a grandmother whose chief happiness consists in the daily investiture of Ganesh with a daub of vermilion. The rights of an individual member as apart from those of the household are not recognised. The ideas which dominate the occupational life of the clerk or government servant have no validity in the home. A Hindu Pilgrim's Progress would be impossible. For no pilgrim remaining a Hindu could even set out for the city of God with his back resolutely turned on his family. Those who know how difficult it is for a professed Christian to reconcile the essential ideas of Christianity with the material cares and duties of the head of a family will perhaps envy the Hindu who is never so much a Hindu as when he is at home. They may also be in a position to understand the impregnability of a social system founded on a religion that centres in the home.

Yet it must be admitted that the establishers of our educational system ignored the family as they ignored caste. As we shall see later, they excluded women at the start

from their field of operations, unaware apparently that the solidarity of the Hindu family depended largely on them. For many years their educational efforts among women were tentative and hesitating. And even to-day it is claimed as an excuse for the statistics that " female education " must necessarily lag far behind that of male. They have supposed that it will be a result of enlightened public opinion, while consideration of the social system suggests that it is an indispensable condition of such enlightenment. No force works more strongly against western civilisation than that of the uneducated women of India.

Apart from women's education it is difficult to see what educational measures could have been brought to bear on the Hindu family. For reasons which do not fall within the scope of this book, social intercourse between the English and Hindu families as unified groups has been found almost impossible. The seclusion of women, a device borrowed from the Mohammedans for the man's purpose, one is tempted to suppose, of making the household invulnerable, has been an insuperable obstacle among the higher castes. It is hard to believe that the Germans, with a similar cultural task, would not have flooded the Hindu home with " Kulturgeschichte " and other improving literature brightly written in the vernacular with attractive and orientalised illustrations. And it is probable that the early concentration on English rather than vernacular education postponed the attack on the family till the possibility of a dual life had been fully realised by its male members. But what is established beyond all doubt is the underrating at the start of the importance of family life, and the belief that education outside the family, and on lines completely different from those of the home training, would affect the character and whole life of the Hindu.

Before we leave this subject of the relation of education to the religious and social life of India, it is necessary to survey the significance of the other great religion of India,

that which is founded on the teaching of Islam. Shorter treatment will be possible owing to the existence of a simple creed and to the comparatively simple, uniform, and clearly defined ideas that direct Mohammedan life. But brevity must not be taken as indicating any failure to appreciate the importance of the subject. The strength of Islam lies in its combination of " a short and simple creed that makes little demand on the intellect with a definite ritual that constantly manifests the creed in the outward life of the believer and becomes inextricably interwoven with the routine of his daily life ".[1] Ideas that are rationally expressed in speech find popular and emotional expression in a simple and inspiring ritual. The Englishman who has seen the Mohammedan in the middle of a garden party unroll his mat and kneel to say his evening prayers may think him ostentatious or doubt the possibility of living up to so openly professed a religion. But he cannot deny that, symbolically at all events, the worshipper has demonstrated the pervasive character of his faith.

Its strength lies further in the fact that it is definitely and explicitly a proselytising faith, not merely, within geographical limits, absorbent and catholic like Hinduism, but professedly aggressive like Buddhism and Christianity. " The conversion of unbelievers is raised to the rank of a sacred duty."[2] " Woe is me if I preach not the Gospel." Nor has this duty ever been associated solely or primarily with the sword or conquest or limited to times when the armies of the faithful have been winning new realms for Islam. In accordance with the Koran, Islam has always relied on peaceful penetration as well as on the sword. Eastern Bengal and south India, where the temporal power of the Mohammedans has been weakest, are full of converts from Hinduism, and such conversion is by no means a thing of the past. The missionary effort, though hampered by lack of organisation, continues, and Sir Thomas Arnold cites a small centre in south India where 750 converts were enrolled not long ago in three years.

With all this driving force behind it and a very definite creed as a touchstone, Islam in India was far less captivated by the material advantages of the government system of education than the Hindu world. In the competitive scramble for office the nimble-witted Brahmin was sure to win. His natural advantage was increased by the fact that orthodoxy required of the Mohammedan a period of devotion to religious studies before secular instruction was begun. But apart from this the Islamic world was inclined to view with indifference a system of education that was rather ostentatiously divorced from any form of religion, put forward by a Government that has always been in the popular opinion Laodicean. And its attitude towards mission schools has naturally been more suspicious than that of the Hindus. Secure in his family life the Hindu was able not only to tolerate but even enjoy instruction in a creed in no way antagonistic to his intellectual outlook and sentiments. The personality of Christ gave him much that enriched and sweetened his life without destroying its foundations. The Mohammedan found in this creed a direct challenge to the teaching that underlay his life and grasped the full and militant significance of the mission school's aim. In spite of the great and partially successful efforts of the great Sir Sayad Ahmad [1] to arouse a sense of the importance to Islam of western studies and their compatability with a truly Mohammedan life, statistics show unmistakably how comparatively ineffective has been the appeal of a western curriculum. And while it might be true to say that the orthodox Mohammedan who has completed a western course has in character and life been more influenced by it than the orthodox Hindu, his attitude towards the education of his women-folk is a sign that his social system and family life has not yet been saturated and transformed by European ideas.

It is hard to avoid the general conclusion that the Government, in presenting to India through its own institutions

and through Hindu, Mohammedan, or nondescript institutions the products of western civilisation, dissociated from the religion of which it is with all its imperfections an attempted embodiment and from which it draws much of its vitality, has failed to convince India of the West's intrinsic superiority. To communities characteristically unable to disentangle sacred from profane and Church from State it has suggested the possibility of two worlds, the real world of absolute values in which the communal life proceeds undisturbed and the occupational world where ideas possessed of only relative value move indeed over the face of the waters but ripple its surface without penetrating its depth. That we must aim at " synthesis " rather than " substitution " has long been recognised. But what has resulted from the meeting of two civilisations has been not a chemical compound such as Rome and Christianity in combination produced in Spain or Gaul, but a mechanical mixture in which the nature and properties of the ingredients are preserved and can be identified. The identification is sometimes faulty, as is shown by the prevalent assumption in India that the West is material and the East spiritual. But the fact that identification is often attempted is significant. So, too, is the fact that the ordinary text-book example of a mechanical mixture is gunpowder.

The Government has offered much that has appealed separately to the sentiment, the intellect, and the economic needs of India. It has not so far offered anything to which all that is fundamental in the oriental character can simultaneously respond. And it is almost certain that a foreign Government debarred from religious activity can never offer this. Not prepared "propter vitam vivendi perdere causas," educated India will make the best of both worlds, that from which it draws its means of livelihood and that from which it draws what really makes life worth living. It is not enough for education to open up a road. It must also " sow flowers by the wayside ".

Though Christian missions have recognised the religious basis of all culture and the necessity for establishing Christianity as the spiritual equivalent of that which at present consolidates and gives colour and charm to oriental life, it may be argued that they have lost ground by participating in a system for which the Government, through no fault of its own, has earned the name of "godless". Far-reaching as their efforts have been in higher education, the intelligentsia of India would have been more deeply convinced if their results, in the public eye, had not been tested and judged mainly by their success in examinations which leave out of account all Christian doctrine and qualities. The outside world has small means of connecting the subsequent careers of mission college students with the prayers and genuinely Christian example of the missionaries or general atmosphere of their institutions.

We are dealing with the conditions that must be fulfilled if an educational system is to be effective. From consideration of the aims we pass to consider the requisite characteristics of the community for whom the system is intended. Among these characteristics must be included homogeneity. In other words, those who are to be affected by a uniform system must be a real community united by common aspirations and traditions, not a number of groups potentially antagonistic and artificially, and, as it were, accidentally, assembled in the same institutions. The efficacy of the Public School depends largely on the fact that those who send their sons there, though no longer belonging to a homogeneous class, are united by their aspirations and their respect for the traditions connected with the schools.

There are no clear signs that the authorities recognised at the outset that the antagonism between Hindu and Mohammedan, or to put it less crudely, the absence of any positive unifying aspirations, of which they must have been aware, required any distinction of educational treatment. With

the incurable optimism that characterises all who sow without the prospect of having to eat the fruits, they probably thought that a uniform dressing of useful information would speedily equalise all kinds of soils. Macaulay and Trevelyan seem to have had in mind the levelling influence of mediæval education when Roman Christianity spread a uniform culture over western Europe. They forgot that the subsequent growth of nationalism had produced in the same area, smaller and less diversified than India, types of institutions as profoundly unlike as the Rugby of their days and the Prussian gymnasium.

It may be urged that the West has outgrown the need for sectarian curricula and institutions, and that English life has been strengthened by the meeting together in public schools and council schools of the sons of Roman Catholics, Anglicans, and Free Churchmen. But it would be idle to pretend that the differences between these classes are as pervasive or fundamental as those which distinguish Hindu or Mohammedan, or that the curricula and life which they share in such schools is as alien to their traditions and home life as a genuinely Hindu curriculum would be to a Mohammedan or vice versa, or as the curriculum and life of a government school is to either. We forget that our schools and their curricula are saturated with ideas and sentiments that are Christian in origin and closely allied to the ideas and sentiments of our home. We have never been faced with the prospect of sending our sons to a school which has never come, even indirectly, under Christian influence, dominated by a culture which is foreign to us and devoid of all traditions on which our home life is based. Yet this is the kind of school that the Government has been forced into offering the Hindu and Mohammedan alike. Condemned to religious impartiality it has been unable in its own institutions to make any really effective differentiation of treatment.

It may more plausibly be urged that the difference between Hindu and Mohammedan has been recognised pro-

gressively by the Government as years have passed, in the maintenance of separate hostels and even separate institutions, in emphasising in such institutions the importance of Sanskrit or Persian as the case may be, in encouraging financially and otherwise the establishment of definitely sectarian institutions, and finally in the leading and generous part which it has taken in the creation of the Hindu University of Benares and the Mohammedan University of Aligarh. But it would not be right to conclude from this that all that is now required to meet the needs of Hindus and Mohammedans alike is the expenditure of time and money on the multiplication and development of such institutions. Putting aside for the moment the two sectarian Universities, we may note that success in University examinations is a necessary passport to Government service, that such a passport is still one of the most treasured prizes of education, that from the mark-winning point of view the most important subjects are the distinctively western subjects and in any case not those most closely allied to Hindu or Mohammedan culture, that the Universities, though enjoying an ever-increasing measure of independence, are still subject to the ultimate control of Government and that the Government would not and could not tolerate in any non-sectarian University the mark-winning predominance of any definitely sectarian course or the prevalence of any definitely sectarian atmosphere. The very existence in fact of Government non-sectarian Universities implies for University education, and the schools which it influences, an absence of colour calculated neither to offend nor stimulate the cultural life of either great community. From the sectarian Universities more is perhaps to be expected in this line. But it has yet to be seen how far they are tempted to fall into line with the older Universities and to what extent the Government, with the needs of the public services ever before it, will be prepared to accept courses, devised primarily with reference to

sectarian and oriental needs and aspirations, as qualifying for work which many would regard as western in character and which is undeniably for the benefit of all.

Here again we must not be misled by English conditions into underestimating Indian difficulties. The genuinely Christian parent is not rendered indifferent to University education by the fact that it is among other things a preparation for civil service examinations, success in which does not necessarily involve the possession of any Christian knowledge or virtues. He recognises, if he thinks about it, the genuine though perhaps vaguely felt Christianity of the atmosphere in which his son has assimilated some at least of the Christian spirit that underlies western culture. The thoughtful Hindu or Mohammedan has no such consolation. In so far as his son's education has been real and fruitful it has led him away from rather than towards communal tradition. And one is tempted to say in conclusion that this uniform system, devised to meet the needs of all communities in India and adapted to the peculiar needs of respective communities only so far as is consistent with its patronage by an alien and impartial Government, has been able to avoid giving offence to one or other section only by being so colourless as to satisfy completely no section.

It would be comforting but impossible to claim that such education, just because it has been colourless, has made the peoples of India, or at least its educated classes, homogeneous; that homogeneity in fact has been not the condition but the result and justification of a uniform system inspired by outside influence.

Hindu and Mohammedan trained on the same lines have co-operated successfully in professional and public life. United by a common language and sentimentally, if superficially, actuated by common western ideas they have been able to emphasise more effectively their common grievances. Mr. Gandhi, in days when he hoped to bring the Khilafat movement into line with the regeneration of

Hinduism, declared that "Shaukat Ali believes in the sword, I condemn all violence; but what do such differences matter between two men in both of whom the heart of India beats in unison".[1] Such a declaration might be urged by some as justifying finally the system devised by the common and satanic foe. But even within the world of political and racial strife the dust of conflict has been unable to hide the fact that the constructive aims and positive methods of Hindu and Mohammedan remain as fundamentally antagonistic as their outlook on life. As an avenue to employment, as an arsenal in which the weapons of destructive criticism and resentment are forged, our education has united all. In its failure to reach the heart or affect the springs of constructive activity it has left the two religions in opposite camps.

Islam remains a religion of the desert, protestant, doctrinally insistent on one transcendent God, iconoclastic, democratic, manifest in united prayer and public worship, vitally connected with an Islamic world that recognises no geographical limits. Hinduism remains a religion of the forest, catholic, convinced of God's immanence but not crystallising its conviction in a creed, idolatrous, aristocratic, expressing itself in the minute ritual of the home and geographically restricted by the sea and Himalayas.

That the religions have had some mutual influence and may have more is certain. Kabir and Nanak testify thereto by their work and teaching. The composite Urdu language and Mogul architecture are perhaps symbolic. Among the descendants of Hindu converts to Islam Hindu practices survive and a Hindu may be found worshipping at the shrine of a Mohammedan saint. Akbar was perhaps abnormal, but there have been other Mohammedan rulers more than tolerant to Hindus. Among Rajput chiefs there have been many who have returned the compliment. But such modification has preceded or been completely outside the sphere of our western education. It has certainly not been a direct result of it.

CHAPTER V

METHODS AND MACHINERY—(*a*) CHOICE OF SUBJECTS

Educational principles in 1835—Prior to age of science—Absence of evolutionary idea—Age of "enlightenment" and intolerance—The Indian mind an empty receptacle—Antecedents and characteristics ignored—Importance of western attitude of mind overlooked—Correctives and stimulants—Emotional side intensified—Critical and conative neglected—Science and scientific study of indigenous culture—Subordinated to western literature and history—Reaction against alien unreality inevitable—And sentimental—Not corrected by critical understanding of Indian life and thought.

We have discussed so far the aims of the Government and their practicability with reference to the characteristics of the originators, executive agents, and beneficiaries of the policy. Methods and machinery have been referred to only incidentally but must now be investigated in their bearing on the policy. Here we enter the sphere of the educationalist proper. It is deeply to be regretted that the psychological and anthropological principles on which educational methods must be based, though familiar to Plato and never completely lost sight of since his time, were not clearly established nor defined in 1835. As an educational administrator and chairman of the Committee of Instruction, setting the type of educational method for many a long year, Macaulay was far more disastrously important than as a Member of Council driving the last nail home in the coffin of the Orientalists. For any "subjects," whether oriental or western, were likely to be ineffective if utilised in real ignorance of the nature of the mind of man and of the forms of civilisation which are its expression. It was a colossal misfortune for India that our system of

education was initiated by one who, in the opinion of Lord Acton, "knew nothing respectably before the seventeenth century, nothing of foreign history, religion, philosophy, science or art".[1]

Civilisation is a growth, and like all other forms of growth gradual. It may grow naturally out of national or communal life from seed not planted by any conscious or purposive external agent. If it is to be transplanted and raised in foreign soil, it must be from seed rather than cuttings and in any case not by the importation of full-grown products. The nature of the soil and climate is as important as the nature of the seed. The soil and climate must be studied and the soil treated and dressed with the same care that guides the selection of the seed.

All this which is commonplace to-day was forgotten or obscured in Macaulay's time. He was so immersed in the selection of seed, or rather potted plants in the shape of lists of library and prize books for Indian schools,[2] that he ignored the soil. Rich though he was in metaphor, he never compared England's task as defined by him to the development of a trim English garden out of the tangled growth of a tropical forest. If he had done so he would have postponed his order for geraniums, or anyhow the planting of them in the untouched forest. And he would have encouraged those who were to enjoy the garden to explore the recesses and realise the inconveniences of their tropical forest, and even to make clearings here and there to expose the soil to investigation and the wholesome influence of air and sunlight.

But in his time educational theory was waiting, as it always must wait, on the development of the sciences. If Bentinck and his advisers had lived fifty years later the course of education in India would have been very different. But the course had to be set in a period characterised in 1887 by Matthew Arnold as productive in England of "a middle-class school education markedly inferior to that of

corresponding classes abroad; its religion has done much for it, its schools little or nothing; unformed itself it exercises on the great democratic classes rising up beneath it no formative influence".[1] From this class were drawn those who were to shape the mind and character of India in the first fifty years of State education. There were great men among them and few failures. But the greatness of these pioneers was due to the class virtues, moral rather than intellectual, of our public schools. And they found and could create no public schools in India.

When Macaulay was in India, La Place and Cuvier, Humphrey Davy and Lyell, had already directed natural science to new and profitable lines. Wolfe, Niebuhr, Boeck, and Ranke had begun their revolutionary work in history.[2] But it was still possible for an Oxford divine to suggest openly in a pulpit that God had put fossils into rocks in order to mislead the scientific atheist, and for the scientific or social reformer on the other hand to argue that religion was an arbitrary and repressive device of priest and tyrant. It was the close of a bitter struggle of reason and common sense against authority and tradition which had been begun when the Renaissance and Reformation broke up the mediæval system of syllogistic education, emphasising the critical functions of the individual mind and its right to challenge the philosophical or theological premises from which all conclusions had been drawn. Reason and common sense, culminating in the French Revolution, had won for the eighteenth century the name of "age of enlightenment," but the light was of that dazzling kind which illuminates a small area for its manipulators, but makes for those who face it darkness more visible. Complete disregard for authority and tradition carried with it the fallacious idea of the human mind awaiting, as a *tabula rasa*, the imprint of the reformer. Origin and previous development of ideas and institutions were ignored, the possibility of national or racial distinctions or influence was denied. The desire of

the French Jacobins to impose on humanity as a whole uniform principles which pure reason was supposed to have dictated in France was shared by most reformers. Intellectually every man with an "idea" in those days was a Bolshevist.

The growth of evolutionary philosophy from 1840 onwards, and its application to science, theology, history, anthropology, and sociology, involved greater tolerance towards alien institutions and systems and a more respectful attitude towards the human mind from which they grew. What lives is subject to change and can be understood and influenced only by those who have traced its origin and development. Man cannot be considered separately from the world around him, and varying circumstances and conditions cannot produce the same kind of man. To all the varied fields of human thought and activity scientific methods of observation and experiment are applicable and accurate observation of the present must be assisted by correct unravelling of the past. In historical and social science particularly the self-sufficiency of the eighteenth century and its contempt for the past have been dispelled. Institutions have to be accounted for, not condemned nor exalted. Primitive folk-lore and myths, instead of being discarded as barbaric or reverenced as quaint, are examined in the light of religious systems evolved from them.

But Macaulay, Grote, and Carlyle, who were writing history in England while our educational system was being elaborated in India, showed little of this scientific spirit. They were brilliantly pictorial, but the past which they recreated by their learning and imagination was contrasted with the present and used to support its political or philosophical theories rather than studied as the cradle and explanation of the present. And educational theory had to wait till long after their day before receiving the full and transforming advantage of the evolutionary idea.

And so the Indian educator set out on his task of

enlightening the mind of India without studying the nature and previous history of that mind. All minds were alike to him and all minds that had no western information were equally empty and receptive. What was " reasonable " in England must be reasonable in India and would, when forcibly presented, prevail. There need then be no anxiety about the choice of methods. Get the right kind of information from England in sufficient quantities and the receptacles will soon be filled.

What would they have found if they had studied the Indian and particularly the Hindu character, and how would the knowledge have affected their methods ? They would have found it deficient in conative force, almost abnormally developed on the emotional side and intellectually alert to follow a line of thought to its logical conclusion, but strangely unable to criticise the product of its thought or to bring it into line with facts. They would have detected indifference to the inter-relation of material events, a love of nature combined with apathetic ignorance of its laws, preoccupation with an unseen but very real world, a capacity for finding God everywhere and a reluctance to identify Him essentially with morality, and a catholicity that fails rather attractively to distinguish what is socially useful from what is socially obstructive, or what is intellectually true from what is false.

Such was the type of character that had been developed in an atmosphere saturated with religion. And it was thought practicable to influence it through institutions and curricula devoid of religious foundation. A mind naturally emotional and poetic was further to be stimulated by all the wealth of English literature. Naturally speculative, it was to be let loose in the provocative sphere of western philosophy. Unable to accommodate its theories to facts or to criticise ideas that were sentimentally attractive, it was to be entrusted with political and social ideas that had been slowly evolved in response to actual

needs and in contact with the facts of practical experience in Europe. Ignorant of the origin and growth, strength and weakness, of its own institutions, it was to be impressed by a sense of the final perfection of the British constitution of 1832 and animated with the hope that the idea of liberty, implanted by enlightened text-books, would be in a few years as real and productive in India as centuries of toilsome growth had made it in England.

It was forgotten that the fruitful assimilation of western ideas involved a western attitude of mind, a close connexion between ideas and facts, and the repression, not encouragement, of emotion not likely to find an outlet in constructive action.

> Prune thou thy words, thy thoughts control,
> That o'er thee swell and throng;
> They will condense within thy soul,
> And change to purpose strong.
>
> But he who lets his feelings run,
> In soft luxurious flow,
> Shrinks when hard service must be done
> And faints at every woe.

Subjects should have been selected in the first instance for their formative value, and such subjects would have been exclusively neither oriental nor western. From the West was wanted science rather than literature or philosophy, not only nor mainly for its results, but in order that its methods might be applied to the speculative and emotional side of the curriculum and chasten its influence by wholesome criticism.

It might be pleaded here that the simultaneous development of a critical spirit and conative force would have destroyed a social system based on subordination of the individual, and that, even if the wreckage of that system had been at one time the ultimate aim, its premature communication would have been disastrous. But the subversive

spirit could have been restrained by including the indigenous culture and traditions among the subjects to be studied by western methods. This would have had the same restraining influence as the study of Greek and Roman culture, the basis of our own civilisation, has had on western students. The advocate of the "classics" in England will derive powerful arguments from the results of the absence of a "classical" basis in India. An understanding of the way in which their civilisation had grown would have induced respect for its antiquity as well as the critical power to see its defects and the will to remove them. Instead of an emotional impulse towards the West followed by an equally emotional reaction eastwards, we should have had from the start a critical but hopeful attitude towards the West combined with a critical but reverent attitude towards the East. Such an aim, though not to be expected of Macaulay or Duff, was vaguely formulated not many years after they had inaugurated their system. But long years passed before the underlying psychological principles were understood, and meanwhile popular enthusiasm in India had given the original system a force and momentum that resisted stubbornly the belated efforts of painfully enlightened authorities.

What India required from England at the start was not its literature, history, or philosophy, but men able to give them not only the results but the method of western science and to stimulate them to apply these methods and the evolutionary principle to their own culture. Science would have suggested that it was necessary and possible to subdue nature by understanding it instead of by remaining in reverential and ignorant awe of it. Indigenous studies would have trained the will and provided an emotional outlet by suggesting useful and practical lines of social or religious reform.

Instead of this it was possible up to comparatively recent times for a student to graduate without any knowledge of scientific method and results or of his own country's literature and philosophy, without ever having come into

contact with a trained scientific mind or a trained critical and enthusiastic student of Indian culture. His knowledge of Indian history might be confined to a single text-book, classed for examination purposes with a course of geography and English history. On the other hand, he would almost certainly know the names and dates of all great English writers, and would be able to illustrate dictated criticisms of their work by more or less apt quotations. He would be able to write a better English essay on Chaucer than vernacular essay on Tukaram or Tulsidas. If he had studied his own "classical" languages at all, it would have been under teachers ignorant of western methods, devoted men who were segregated from the rest of the staff by their enthusiasm, oriental garb, and lower scale of pay.

Such methods and curricula produced inevitably men who not only questioned but denied the superiority of western culture, when it became painfully clear that its main ideas, liberty, equality and the like, could ripen and become productive only by very slow and painful stages on Indian soil. Goaded by a sense of inferiority, due to thoughtless action outside rather than within India, and fostered by their own inmost suspicions rather than by any survival of the ancient claim of 1835, they found that the acquisition of western ideas had not annihilated, politically or materially, racial distinctions. Defeats sustained by European nations, from the disaster of Adowa in 1894 through the Russian-Japanese war down to the Boer war, had made them question even the material superiority of the West or its power to control an awakened East. The great war confirmed their suspicions of its spiritual bankruptcy. Hating a civilisation they did not understand, in love with a motherland which was largely the creature of their imagination, they expressed both hatred and love with weapons borrowed from the West and cursed the West for yielding such equipment. It is not surprising that for a few months in 1921 the prisons were full of the intelligentsia of India. The wonder is that there were prisons large enough.

CHAPTER VI

METHODS AND MACHINERY—(*b*) STATE CONTROL OF EDUCATION

State control—Extent and significance—Prussian conception of the State—State's assumption of educational functions novel and un-English—Reasons for it—Effect on higher education—Lack of religious warmth and colour—Centralised uniformity—Excessive responsibility—Exposure to suspicious criticism—Effect on teacher—The ideal teacher of Hindu tradition—And the teacher in a State system—Codes and inspection—Suppression of personality—Popular view of State teacher—State initiative and help wanted—How possible without detailed control—Variety in ideals and systems essential—Compatibility with requirements of public services—State responsibility in other grades—State control and efficiency—Ultimate responsibility of State.

EDUCATION in India from 1854[1] has meant a system of schools, colleges, and examinations, ultimately controlled by the Government. Administration, though always provincial, was subject to the general control of the Government of India up to 1920. As the quinquennial report for 1917-22 proudly points out, "it was possible under a number of codes and systems to discover the same essentials of structure". Many of the institutions have been directly maintained from public funds, managed by the education department and staffed by teachers who were government officials. Another class has been maintained and managed by local authorities subject until recently to close control and supervision by the Government. The third class, under private management, missions, local committees, or private proprietors, has depended on the Government either for grants in aid, which give financial security, and "recognition" which ultimately qualifies their students for examinations

and government service, or for recognition alone. Regular inspection and submission to rules and regulations governing curriculum, text-books, and all details of organisation and equipment, have been the conditions of such support and recognition. It is true that the provincial Governments have delegated to Universities in varying measure the control or partial control of higher education by charging them with the framing of curricula and rules or the recognition of high schools or with both these tasks. But these Universities have been the creation of the Government with governing bodies constituted and controlled by Government, aware always of the government policy as declared by officials in their governing bodies, and working always with the possibility of a government veto on their proposed regulations. Although, as was shown particularly in the Calcutta University, some academic bodies have won a considerable measure of independence and gradually added to their powers, owing to the preoccupation of the Government with other matters, the vigorous personality of some of the academic leaders, and financial independence achieved through examination fees, the ultimate power of the Government to take away what it has given has always been recognised, and in the public eye the Government was responsible for the main features and particularly the defects of the systems. It might also be said that many of the chief objections against government control have been applicable to Universities, resembling the Government more closely than they have liked to admit in their centralisation, lack of elasticity and acceptance of greater responsibility than they could by their results justify.

Various evils arising out of the identification of all grades of education with the State in India have already been suggested and will be summarised emphatically below. Heroic efforts have been made in recent years to counteract these evils, and these, too, will be described. But the need for any such identification has rarely, if ever, been

questioned. Reports on " public instruction " attach ever-increasing importance to the " private institutions " which stand completely outside the state system. They are the hardy survivors of the indigenous institutions found in 1835 or representative of the recent growth of nationalism and dissatisfaction with the state system. But their importance is regarded as potential, depending on their ultimate adoption of western methods, and incorporation in the scheme of recognition and inspection, rather than actual and symptomatic of communal aspirations, functioning on independent lines. The Englishman in India, outside the mercantile community, tends to become a Prussian, not personally nor in the spirit of his administration, but in his general conception of the comprehension, responsibility, and functions of the State. Though imbued, while on leave, with the English suspicion and dislike of the official, he fails to see when he lands at Bombay the possibility of any important work, beneficial to India as a whole, prospering without the close and earnest attention of the Government. The product of a public school or University which came into being and has grown without the help and almost without the intervention of Government, he contemplates without dismay Universities created in secretariat offices and schools managed by officials, who wear or hope to wear in the fullness of time " political uniform " on public occasions. A Government which holds itself responsible for " the moral and material progress of the peoples of India " [1] must identify itself as completely and inevitably with their education as the Prussian Government has done.

This attitude is due, not to any Teutonic " complex," but to the fact that India of the nineteenth century through its history, traditions, and atmosphere fostered a feeling of reverence for a catholic and apostolic Government. To be an emissary of that Government was to be entitled, not necessarily to any personal affection, but to envy and quite impersonal respect. Gradually, and not without protests

from within, the English official began to regard this respect as qualifying him for every kind of work.

And so he forgot how very un-English, and, for an Englishman, dangerous and misleading, a state-controlled system of education can be. He forgot that the greatest educational institutions of his own country have been the product of slow growth, evolved experimentally in response to the growing self-consciousness of a community, and reflecting its internal aspirations and ideas rather than the clearly defined purpose of an external authority. He forgot that there never has been in England more than a handful of what might be called " national " institutions, and that the foundations of a state system, still far from completely comprehensive, were laid only in 1870. Even the beginnings of such a system were possible in England only after nearly forty years of a reformed Parliament had made the minister in charge of the attempted system responsible to a body that represented all the important elements of national life.

By identifying the State in India with an educational policy, and undertaking to direct the education of the country in accordance with that policy, Bentinck was attempting a task which had at the time been contemplated for England only by a few radical minds, and was associated in the West generally with Prussia, rising phœnix-like from the disaster of Jena, or with the colossal and overweening self-confidence of the Jacobins or a Napoleon. In England the first treasury grant of £2000 for education was allotted to elementary schools in 1832,[1] nineteen years after the unreformed Commons, largely at the instance of Wilberforce and the Evangelicals, had insisted on the East India Company making an annual allotment for the education of its dominions. Education prior to this had depended financially on the Church and on private benefactors or corporate bodies inspired by a definite aim. The Parliamentary grant was steadily increased, but it was not till 1856 that a Vice-President of the Committee

of Council on Education was made responsible to Parliament, and fourteen more years elapsed before Parliament was prepared to make itself responsible for any clearly defined system. By this time Bentinck's work had been brought to completion in India in an elaborate and predominantly state system.

Had Bentinck been charged with un-English and bureaucratic aims he would have been able to reply that he was dealing with pressing and practical problems, the solution of which involved, for the time, state intervention and initiative. The future must look to itself. He had to decide how public funds allotted under orders from home were to be spent. The funds and work could not be entrusted to Christian missions free from all control. Popular as this would have been among the Evangelicals, it would have been vetoed by the Directors at home, who were keenly alive to the risk of arousing religious animosity and suspicion among the masses. Nor could they be entrusted to indigenous agents. It was true that the Hindu Committee which had founded the Vidyalaya on western lines in 1817 had given proof of devotion and ability. But there were no signs that indigenous effort left to itself would have enough initiative and driving force to leave any permanent mark on India. Delay was undesirable; and a free hand for native effort would have involved at least equal facilities for the missions and friction and jealousy between the two classes of institutions. Only the Government was left, possessed of necessary prestige and driving power, and competent, so long as it retained firm control, to see that the main aims were remembered and that the indigenous and mission auxiliary forces did not adopt divergent and mutually antagonistic methods.

Inevitable as it all seemed, an alternative course will be suggested as practicable at that time and as likely even now to minimise some of the impediments which are engaging the energies of educational authorities. But it will

be necessary, in order to justify the advancement of an alternative, to summarise the evils arising from a state system which have already been hinted at, and to emphasise briefly some that have not as yet been mentioned.

That the identification of a necessarily neutral Government with a system of education has robbed that system of religious warmth, colour, and significance, and that the want of this has made the education unreal and unconvincing among peoples whose life, for good and bad, is fundamentally religious, has already been emphasised. The Government has inevitably failed in its genuine efforts to convince India of its belief in the educational importance of religion, and its failure has affected other agencies involved in the system.

That government control involves centralisation, and necessitates a constant struggle against uniformity as well as rigid insistence on rules and regulations obstructive to natural growth, has also been suggested. We shall return to this when we deal below with the status of the teacher.

Moreover, in undertaking such responsibility, the Government incurred a burden of work which, without any such increase, has often appeared insupportable. Matthew Arnold's vision of the weary Titan is often before those who see the multiplicity and volume of the files that obscure a secretary from the vulgar view, but expose his masters to the fierce criticism of the press and public meeting. The burden is not relieved but accentuated by the increase in man-power and growth in the number of departments and secretaries. For whatever is important must ultimately come before the supreme authority in the form of Governor or Council. Unfortunately, the real significance and importance of an educational question is often underrated; it can hardly be otherwise since the results of a wrong decision are rarely visible before a new generation of rulers has arisen.

To a Governor or Council harassed by obviously urgent situations, where a wrong step will bring immediate disaster,

there is an inevitable temptation to leave the educational file to the close of a long day's work, and the tired brain will be inclined either to shelve indefinitely a tangled and " surely not vital " question, or to yield to him who has written the longest or most dogmatic minute, or to approve a non-committal order which will be " all things to all men " but in no sense " above suspicion ". '

Popular confidence in the system is shaken by the feeling that it is only one and by no means the most obviously important of the many balls that a juggling Government is trying to manipulate simultaneously. And criticism of it is definitely encouraged by its very association with a Government which is, in the eyes of all, the potential fount of every conceivable blessing, and consequently the actual cause of every ill. All constructive criticism is good. But the criticism that merely shakes public confidence and alienates goodwill by the imputation of political or racial motives can do only harm. Such criticism has been for many years part of the game in dealing with any government measure or administration act. Educationally, it means the washing of much soiled linen in public. All government action must be open to the light of day. Questions that would be settled in England briefly and drastically in the head-master's study, or by half an hour's interview with parent or governing body, cover many pages of a secretariat file and reverberate in the Council Hall and Press.

Greatest of all evils, however, arising from a state system is its effect on the relations between the teachers and the taught. To realise this, we must compare the ideal teacher as he is envisaged by an indigenous community with the master produced by a state system. We will take the Hindu ideal,[1] which has been more forcibly depicted in literature and art than the Mohammedan, though on the general question of personal relations between teacher and taught there is no fundamental difference between the communities. If it seems unfair to compare the actual product of a system

with what has only an imaginary and ideal existence, it must be remembered that it is our purpose to see whether the conditions implied by the system are leading in the direction of the ideal or away from it. That conditions favourable to the ideal are found in a few institutions to-day outside our system is unquestionable.

The ideal Hindu teacher, the guru, is subject to no external control. He teaches because it is his spiritual function, or "dharma," not primarily as a means of livelihood. If his personality and general outlook appeal to the community, he is supported by gifts, casual but sufficient, and preferably in kind rather than cash. Wealthy parents and perhaps the local Raja may give some permanent endowment. But no right of control or inspection is involved in such gifts. In the most flourishing ages of the Hindu and Mogul dynasties there are records of large donations by kings and emperors free of all conditions. It was the guru not the king who laid down the conditions. The ideal system of education for a Brahmin boy after assuming the sacred thread at the age of eight was to pass the fourteen years of his Brahmacharya stage away from home, in personal touch with his guru to whom the parents surrendered their rights, and in the seclusion of the forest, where the discipline of the asram, or retreat, would be most effective. It was essentially a preparation for the ordinary responsibilities of practical life, not in the first instance for a life of meditation or asceticism. The Brahmacharya stage had to be followed by the Grihastha period, in which, as a father and householder, the Brahmin must support his wife and family and show in practical ways his veneration for his parents. But the guru's influence was to extend beyond this period, and the reality and force of his teaching was to be proved by his chela's subsequent aptitude for the two last stages of the Brahmin's life, that of banaprastha, or meditation, in which, with the cares of the household laid aside, he devoted himself to spiritual pursuits, and the

final stage of sanyas, or renunciation, when he wandered away from the influence of family, caste, and race into the recesses of his spiritual self, until his individuality was merged in the soul of the universe.

It was a lofty and inspiring ideal, resembling strangely in some respects the educational dreams of Plato. That it was even partially realised in the golden ages of Hinduism, between 200 B.C and A.D. 650 under Asoka, the Gupta, and the Harsha dynasties, cannot perhaps be proved. There were certainly great educational centres, such as Taxila and Ujjain, or later Kanouj, Benares and Navadwip, thriving under royal protection and patronage. And whether approximation to the ideal guru and asramic course was common or rare, it is certain and significant that it is to this type of education, this vitally close relation between guru and pupil, this proud assertion of the gurus' status and rights, that the thoughts and aspirations of the best minds in India turn when wearied and disappointed by the dull impersonal unreality of our system. It is pitiably true that the " national " but ephemeral institutions opened for the " benefit " of those whom the non-co-operation movement drew from our schools and colleges in 1920-21 were for the most part grotesque caricatures of the government system, with a course animated by the gospel of hate instead of the gospel of getting on. But these owed their rise and fall to men blinded by racial and political bitterness to all vital educational issues. Mahatma Gandhi in his earlier and greater days would have seen more clearly and moved more resolutely to what was once his goal, spiritual regeneration. But his energies were being devoted to less educational and constructive work. To realise the continuance of the old traditions and ideals and their vitalising, though at present necessarily restricted, force, we must visit and appreciate the work attempted at Hardwar by men whom a recent Governor of the united Provinces described as " a band of ascetics, devoted to their duty, following the traditions of

the Rishis" [1] with no salaries, but with very definite aspirations, or we must study Rabindranath Tagore's nascent University, Shantiniketan, the "house of peace" at Bolpur, where in an atmosphere far remote from towns and controversy "success is measured essentially by the spiritual growth of the teachers," and where the convictions of the place, the daily acts of worship and the vaguely defined but keenly felt influence of a secluded life on the wooded uplands, bind together teachers and taught in a real and living unity.[2]

Now there is hardly an educational official in India who does not appreciate the greatness of Tagore's ideals and the desirability of giving practical effect to them. But it is impossible for Government as a Government to take any such decisive action because of the suspicion that has invariably been aroused, and will continue to be aroused, by any vigorous change of policy. This suspicion binds the Government to the wheel of its system. The writer has good reason to recall the storm excited by the proposal of the Central Provinces Government to locate the proposed University of the province in a remote and secluded, but healthy and invigorating, spot. Because the proposal was official, it was ascribed solely to a wish to segregate the student from the "national" or political life of Nagpur. Similarly, official suggestions for the wider use of the vernacular in schools have been attributed to a desire to restrict the teaching of English, and to revert to the policy of *Divide et impera*. Equally objectionable motives have been connected with the state encouragement of sectarian Universities. If the ideal guru is ever to dominate Indian education, it will not be due to any expressed wish on the part of the Government.

And there are other reasons, which an Englishman finds it easier to understand, for the impracticability of converting an educational official, or even a teacher in a state-controlled or recognised school, into the ideal guru. One has only

to try to imagine an English public school or Oxford University completely bureaucratised to realise the withering influence of state control and initiative. The organic life of the public school is best exemplified by the headmaster who appended to a very brief and fragmentary version of school rules the declaration " all boys will be responsible for the observance of these rules and any other rules that there may be ". It is doubtful whether any member of a public school staff has ever possessed a complete code of rules. It is quite certain that he would never read such a code and that his suspicion of it would be increased by its extraneous and official origin. The master enmeshed in the network of our Indian system works with code in hand. For him, there is no " unwritten law " or tradition. There are " returns " to be submitted periodically, regulations to be followed, examinations in which a percentage of passes is to be obtained, and an inspector, more regular in his visitation than famine or the plague, who, in the course of a few minutes, must be convinced that no rule has been broken and that something practical has been done. It is hard to imagine a Thring, Arnold, or Sanderson thrown up by such a system. It will not produce a Sankara, Kabir, or Tagore in India.

The government inspector is powerless to resist the corrosive influence of the system. He has got to find something definite and to say something which he can prove. In the time at his disposal he cannot find the master who quietly and unobtrusively is exerting a steady influence. Such a man comes to the fore only when, as often happens, he has not completed his portion or when he has left an exercise uncorrected. The man who is noticed, and who achieves promotion in government service or transfer to government service if not already in the seats of the mighty, is the " window dresser," well versed in the rules and the personal idiosyncrasies of the inspector, and regarding his pupils as units in a percentage scheme rather than as living personalities. The more successful he is, the more fre-

quently he will move " on promotion " from one school to another. His ultimate aim is a seat in the headquarters office, or the charge of a subordinate office, where he will be able to treat all schools as one and merge what is left of his professional self in the oneness of the code-producing machine. His real self, possibly a very attractive one, will be resumed when he discards his professional coat in the other world of his home, after the day's work is done.

The system affords no chance of personality coming into play as an educational factor. It is terribly rare to see a real live man at work in an Indian schoolroom. Emergence of the real self, with all its prejudices and convictions, would scare the class, and probably produce an entry in the daily order-book, to be shown at the next inspection, reminding the man who is still a living ember that controversial subjects, particularly religion, politics, and social affairs, are debarred. What constitutes the real self must remain outside the school. And if the authorities, in their periodical and quite frequent efforts to make education real, suggest to the headmasters the desirability of talks on " current events," the headmaster, with admirable caution, demands a syllabus and the local Press accuses the Government of " propagating its own views ". The student meanwhile, thinking outside school of little else but politics and religion, is inclined to resent references to such subjects in school, as encroaching on time required for examination subjects, and suspects the teacher who ventures to defend a government measure as a hypocrite, and the man who ventures to criticise it as a spy. He is as unconscious as his master of any direct personal contact. And he looks on him from the religious standpoint as professionally emasculated.

The Indian student is essentially emotional, and at times, though not always, sentimental. When the English schoolboy is told by his master that he has become an " usher " because of the long holidays, and his inability to earn a living otherwise, he may not believe him, but he is

cheered by the complete absence of sentiment. When the Indian schoolmaster or lecturer refers to his "sacred" profession he fails to convince an Indian audience which finds nothing that is "sacred" in utilitarian education, and regards the education department as the lightest and correspondingly least remunerative branch of government service, but still as a definite part of a scheme of material values in which every family wishes to have a share. Rarely is it admitted that anyone, connected directly or indirectly with the Government, has given up anything in order to do work that makes a definitely personal appeal. The government servant can do anything except lose his life to save it. If he is in "education" he is, like other officers, in the service of mammon. Only through lack of ability or fortune he has not advanced very far in it. Further consideration of the topic suggests to the Indian mind that the Government which calls education the supremely important task but pays its headmasters less than its subordinate revenue officers is either inconsistent or hypocritical. India could revere a teacher who is unpaid, and prostrate itself, in the unreal and official world, before a highly paid educationalist. But a man who achieves but a poor rank and pay in the official hierarchy by his scholastic work leaves India perplexed and indifferent.

To any life that is quite clearly based on renunciation and influenced by strong personal feeling, India, and particularly the Indian student, pays real and effective homage. The record of the life and personality of Christ has done far more educationally for India than the whole of western literature. And Gandhi for the same reason, until signs of megalomania appeared, made a more universal appeal than perhaps any Indian since the Buddha. A system that tends to deprive the agents of all power of impressing their whole personality or of giving satisfactory proof of renunciation stands condemned in India.

The persistence of the original aim, complete trans-

formation of East into West, would perhaps have necessitated the permanence of a state-controlled system. And some of its evils might have been removed or lessened. For such an aim could only continue effective if it secured as its agents men who genuinely believed that the aim was sound and practicable. Even a centralised system, if worked by enthusiasts, has real and educational significance. The riots and bloodshed that would have been evoked by such enthusiasts would have testified anyhow to the reality of the work.

But with the modification of the aim and the growing recognition of the possibility and value of a synthesis, such modification of the system as would have testified to the genuineness of the aim was surely called for. A Government that believed in the regeneration of indigenous culture could surely have freed the study of it from the restraint of an authority that was necessarily alien and confined itself merely to assistance where assistance was required. It could have been aware, too, of the undue weight necessarily thrown on the western side of the scales by the identification of a western Government with the courses. That substantial modification was postponed till recent times, when it must perforce be carried out with extreme caution and reserve, was due to the failure of the authorities to understand, first, that in education the teacher's personality is the supremely important factor and that system must be subordinated to personality, not vice versa, and, secondly, that education is not compartmental, but a living whole. A Government by putting courses into three boxes marked Western, Oriental, and Religious and identifying itself wholly with one, partially and half-heartedly with the second, and not at all with the third, may produce "public instruction". But it will not be real and convincing education.

A start had to be made in higher education and Government had to make it. What they could and should have done was to provide the seed from which, as years passed,

a University would gradually and naturally have grown, very unlike the Universities which from 1854 onwards have been hatched in offices where worried secretaries have sat like brooding hens on eggs laid by "mixed committees of officials and non-officials," Universities whose *raison d'être* appears sometimes to be the complicated nature of their governing bodies and statutes, constituted and framed with such care that no offence and very little of anything else can be given in any quarter. A University was wanted like the Universities of mediæval Italy and England, a nucleus in the first instance of expert scholars who drew around them those who wanted for practical reasons to enjoy the benefit of their learning and assimilate their methods. It was the business of the Government to supply and, at the start anyhow, to pay these men. The constitution of the University and the features of the systems to which it might indirectly give rise were primarily matters for those who taught and learned and carried the torch of learning to the outside world. They could have got, in time, such administrative help and advice as the non-scholastic world could give them. And they would, from the start, have been more closely in touch with public opinion than was possible for any organisation constituted and controlled by Government.

This is a suggestion which, without further support, will fail to convince the English or the Indian reader. In England it is felt that the idea of a University was premature even when it was first firmly established in 1854.[1] The energy of Government was required, we are told by critics, for technical and village schools and was wasted on the production of graduates. And the feeling is perhaps justified if by University is meant what was then created. In India it will seem preposterous to take thought for a University before schools and colleges whose students it will admit and examine have come into existence. The examinations and degrees of a University are the final

flower of an educational system, not its seed. It must be the final stage if its primary function is to test and reward, not to vitalise and inspire.

What is forgotten is that a University such as Oxford existed before benefactors such as Walter de Merton or Wykeham had begun to provide hostels and colleges where its students could reside, and before schools from which they were to be drawn had been systematically organised. It grew out of no order of Government or resolution of a committee but spontaneously from the gathering together in one place of men united by a zeal and aptitude for learning, prepared to hand on the torch to those who were striving towards the light and to admit to their society those who proved themselves masters of their arts. In such a conception of a University, a source of inspiration and fountain-head of education, there was nothing aggressively western. It is probable that centres such as Taxila and Kanauj in the Hindu world or Bagdad, Cordova, and Agra in the Islamic world had some such aims and influence. They were certainly most unlike the examination machine provided by Indian Universities of the nineteenth century.

Let it be supposed that the Government in 1835 had drawn together in some central place scholars of experience and repute. Some would have been scientists and some oriental scholars, for there were such men in those days, and some would have been English scholars equipped to begin the task of training students to appreciate the methods, follow the methods and read the books of their English instructors, so that they might, in their turn, go out to teach or take their share in the administration of their country. All alike would have been competent to apply western and critical methods to their subjects and to kindle enthusiasm for these methods. Let us suppose, too, that, in the spirit of ancient benefactors and royal patrons of learning, the Government had been content with selecting the right kind of men, and had then guaranteed continuance

of support, so long as the torch of learning was kept well alight, freeing them from all control and leaving in their hands all organisation and, as time went on and the work expanded, such functions as the choice of assistants and successors.

Let us suppose further that the first students to gather round this nucleus of learned enthusiasts would have been men sent by the Christian missions and by the Hindu enthusiasts who had founded the Vidyalaya, anxious to provide a staff for institutions already in existence or contemplated, and by the Government, anxious to provide for its service trained and competent men. Then as time went on, and after, as might be hoped, the mission authorities and Hindu enthusiasts had brought together similar assemblies of learned men with the same educational zeal but fundamentally inspired by the same religious fervour that animated the assembling authority, students from the educational institutions taught by the graduates and inspired by the aims of such Universities would have sought admission to them, fired by the personality of their teachers and anxious to find the source of their inspiration.

The foundation and development of such institutions would have been encouraged by grants in aid from the Government in areas and among communities where local or communal means were clearly inadequate to supply the means. But whether they paid a quarter or half or even all the cost, they would have functioned as patrons or benefactors not as a controlling or restraining authority. To the function of patrons they might have added that of "visitor," the purpose of periodic visitation being strictly confined to seeing that the general aim of the institution was clearly defined and not subversive of law and order, and that the personality of the teaching staff was such as to make the methods of attaining the desired end real and effective. A visitation of this kind would have required no code or standard but agents possessed of common sense,

insight and experience and breadth of view, agents not easy to find, perhaps, but when found, less costly to maintain and less restrictive than a swarm of code-bound inspecting officers and clerks. The ultimate responsibility of Government would have been shown in the giving of patronage where local needs required it, in the right to suspend the working of any institution aided or unaided which was detrimental in aim or method to the moral welfare or safety of the State, and possibly in the registration of all teachers to protect the public against quackery and deceit. The establishment of a central bureau staffed by experts, for the collection of information from all quarters and the administration of technical advice, would have been a further and in no sense restrictive contribution to educational progress.

This self-limitation on the part of Government would have brought about the evolution of many systems, not the creation of one, each system having for its central power-house an authority, whether that of Christian mission or of some section of the Hindu or Mohammedan community or of some wealthy benefactor, inspired by moral, social, or political aim, and dependent thereon for its driving power. The Universities, as repositories of learning and method, would have been related directly or indirectly to their respective systems. The mode of relation would have been the result of experiment and compromise entirely outside the sphere of Government.

The close connexion that must be observed in any civilised country between education and admission to the public services would have been the only real obstacle to this self-denying ordinance of the State. In India the results of any system of patronage exercised without reference to educational qualifications would have been appalling. And the government desire, which assumed a final shape between 1835 and 1859, to stimulate the zeal for education and at the same time ensure the status and

ability of the services by prescribing " a gradually ascending scale of scholastic qualifications for those entering the higher ranks of the service " [1] was reasonable, and perhaps inevitable. With some of its unexpected and regrettable results we shall have to deal later. Here it is necessary only to point out how such a connexion tightens that government control of education which we are assuming that it would have been desirable to relax. For the very justifiable aim of Government seems to involve either the recognition of certain courses, and a type of institution providing these courses, as qualifying for government service, or the setting up of a separate qualifying examination. The former procedure means the stereotyping, popularisation and ultimate predominance of the selected courses. The latter, though successful in England, means the adaptation of all schools and colleges to the qualifying examination syllabus and the creation of cramming establishments solely to meet its demands. The difficulty would not have been met by recognising, for qualification purposes, every institution that provided a " real and effective " education. For this might have produced an embarrassingly large number of qualified candidates. And there might be many such institutions, deserving of government patronage and financial support, whose courses, by no stretch of imagination, could be regarded as a training for government service.

The solution of this very real difficulty would probably have lain in the institution of service examinations, coupled with stringent instructions to its commissioners that there should be no detailed syllabuses, a very wide range of alternative subjects and a real determination to adapt the examination to the requirements and growth of all institutions likely to produce the right type of public servants, rather than to bring about any adaptation of such institutions to the exigencies of the examination. Acquaintance with the right critical methods of study would have to be shown and the candidate's attitude towards life rather than

the extent of his information would be the primary object of investigation. Such instructions might be effective even now, though they would raise a storm of protest in the Indian Press. In 1859 they would have been effective and intelligible.

It is essentially in the higher grades of general education that the substitution of a system deriving colour and strength from the varied cultural and religious aims of the agencies at work within it for the drab-coloured system dominated by an impartial Government is most desirable. In all forms of technical and special education where cultural and religious forces can play no part the control and initiation of the State are often effective, and sometimes as we shall show, necessary. In the elementary grades of general education the initiative in the formulation of an effective policy must, as we shall try to prove, lie with the Government. And though we shall suggest reasons for questioning the wisdom of widespread substitution of public for private management, the cultural and religious objections to government management or control at this stage are far less obvious than in the later stages.

As regards the higher grades, it will no doubt be objected that state control which we have deprecated is largely responsible for a steady improvement in the quality of work, and that reduction of this control on the lines indicated will mean a relapse on the part of institutions that have been raised to the pitifully low level of a vast number that still await improvement. It has been possible for Government codes and inspection to achieve much by insisting on specified conditions of financial aid or recognition. The awful example of Bengal will be quoted, where numerous high schools, with no hope of financial aid from the Government and securing too easily recognition from a University that has no time to investigate their condition, exist free from the pressure of Government in abysmal and squalid inefficiency. And the good work done by admittedly

efficient Government institutions in raising the educational standards and ideals of India will be emphasised.

There is, however, a confusion here of the State's responsibility for advice and help with its responsibility for control. These two functions must carefully be distinguished. The former is indispensable and should be limited only by financial considerations. Apart from the provision of funds where they can be wisely spent, the State can help and advise school managers through information bureaux and visiting experts. Such experts, accepting the school's aim as they find it, will confine themselves to advice on technical means for attaining the accepted aim. The State can also maintain experimental schools, as it maintains experimental farms, for testing and demonstrating educational methods, making it clear that the value of such methods depends on the nature of the aim with which in the fullest sense the state school is not concerned. If more had been done on these lines in Bengal the position to-day would be very different.

The latter function, that of control, can never be completely surrendered by a modern State, but must be exercised in India only on the broadest lines. Recognition, and aid if it is needed, must depend on the consistency of the institution's aim and methods with the welfare of the State and the pupils, not on compliance with any code or adoption of any course. There must be no attempt to define or elaborate what is implied by these broad conditions. It must be left to the good sense of the visiting committee. But the effective enforcement of such conditions would crush out of existence the weak and ineffective schools far more ruthlessly than the present application of codes and regulations. Such application lengthens inspection reports but seldom shortens the life of an institution. Far more improvement has been effected by tactful advice than by threats. In so far as the action of the State has been restrictive, it has restricted the scope and aim of institutions rather than their educational defects.

CHAPTER VII

METHODS AND MACHINERY—(*c*) ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE AS EDUCATIONAL FACTORS

English as medium of instruction—A temporary expedient—Shortcomings of the vernaculars—Their gradual development expected—Measures and results—Effect of English on vernaculars—English as the classical language of India—Misunderstanding due to Macaulay—Cultural value of English confused with its practical value as a medium—Recent tendency towards wider use of vernaculars—An educational question—Variety of opinion—Confused by racial feeling—Good intentions of Government and its difficulties.

THE identification of the Government with a system of education was accompanied by another decision almost equally far-reaching in its influence. By many it is regarded as far less justifiable and far more disastrous than the creation of a state system. But by as many, if not more, it is defended as inevitable and on the whole beneficial. The decision to establish English as the medium of instruction for all higher kinds of instruction, that is for all but purely elementary schools, was in its origin and aim a decision on a purely educational question of method. It was not a decision on cultural aims and values nor a necessary consequence of the decision that already had been reached on that question. The attempted settlement of this educational point, for a final settlement is not even yet in sight, drew upon the Government much criticism which its educational intentions do not merit, but which was justified in the earlier stages, to some extent, by a very confused and tactless presentation of the points at issue.

Careful perusal of the records will convince the student that the use of English as sole medium of instruction was

intended originally as a purely temporary expedient, that it was the genuine intention of the authorities to take such measures as would lead to the successful adaptation of vernaculars to the broadcasting of useful and western information, and that the various provincial Governments have made genuine efforts from that time forward, with the support and encouragement of the Government of India and the home authorities, to apply these measures. The results are admittedly disappointing, notoriously so in Bengal and to a much smaller extent in Bombay, the United Provinces, and the Punjab. But the efforts are recorded in countless official reports and have been encouraged by some of the finest vintage of secretariat cellars. The failure has been largely the result of indigenous apathy or active opposition, and Indian apathy or opposition has been largely due to the confusion of issues.

It is wrong to suppose that the Committee of Public Instruction found in 1835 vernacular text-books and teaching widely employed in schools and put English in their place. Like almost everything that was indigenous, vernacular literature and learning were at a very low ebb. Though the past had produced very much that was noble and popular in vernacular literature, such as the Hindi work of Tulsidas or the Marathi of Tukaram, the existence of which opponents of the vernacular ignored, it was certainly true, as they urged, that very little was being produced at the time. Between the spoken and written languages there was a gulf not easily bridged. The vernacular text-books in use, for instance, in schools of the Bellary district, were reported to be written in verse, which was unintelligible to teachers and taught.[1] Against an intelligible and plastic vernacular the authorities had no grudge. From 1837 onwards vernacular took the place of Persian in subordinate courts and offices, as English did in the higher official sphere. But its unsuitability at the time for western subjects was admitted by enlightened Indian

opinion. And it may be added that this opinion is still held to-day by some, as is clear from the evidence given before the Calcutta University Commission.[1]

The choice then lay not so much between English and the vernacular as between English and the classical languages of India, Sanskrit and Persian, which were then in common use. Persian, it may be remembered, was also the language of the courts. The expulsion of these languages, *as media*, was probably as inevitable as the substitution of the European vernaculars for Latin, after the growth of the national spirit, in European schools of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. But that substitution, it must be observed, was very gradual. Newton's "Principia," published in 1687, was written in Latin. And as William Arnold, the poet's brother and Director of Public Instruction in the Punjab, pointed out in 1840, the Punjabi scholar found for scholastic purposes the Urdu language as offensive as the follower of Erasmus found mediæval English.[2] Moreover, by the end of the sixteenth century in Europe, there were vernaculars which had proved and were continuing to prove their literary value and infinite adaptability. The sudden change necessitated in India the importation of an alien tongue.

As for the ultimate adaptation of the vernaculars to instructional purposes, the authorities were as optimistic, and in their suggestion of methods as hasty, as they had shown themselves in the discussion of aims and values. The rearing of "a class of persons who will make the learning of Europe intelligible to people of Asia in their own languages" was to be achieved by "furnishing European materials and models for the formation of a national literature". From "minds saturated with English knowledge and tastes formed by the study of English masterpieces" were to issue text-books, tracts, and literature. "Pecuniary inducements, the instigation of ambition, the desire to do good" would produce the artistic temperament.[3] The Government of Bombay was rebuked in 1850 for trying to

improve the vernaculars through the Sanskrit College at Poona.[1] The work was to be accomplished (in accordance with the resolution of 1835) "by the translation of European works of recognised merit and by the original composition of men imbued with European literature and science".

By such devices, and others equally well meant and no less artificial, successive Governments have toiled in the same direction. The results, as recorded in the latest quinquennial report (1917-22) are deplorably (but surely not disappointingly) insignificant. "Mainly religion and poetry," is the somewhat naïve sigh of the writer. A Bengali witness, by no means prejudiced against the use of the vernacular, reported to the Calcutta University Commission that "a hundred years of English teaching have not produced a notable publication embodying the assimilated western wisdom".[2] The same Commission reported that there had not been up to 1906 any systematic study or teaching of Bengali philology or literature in any college affiliated to the University![3]

Yet there has been during the same period, in parts of India, notably Bombay and in a very special degree Bengal, a remarkable revival of vernacular literature. A faint image of the glory of modern Bengal literature has been enjoyed by readers of the translations of some of Rabindranath Tagore's work. To the extensive and richly endowed vintage of that language Lord Ronaldshay has recently paid an eloquent and well-informed tribute. Let it be noted that the growth has been most marked in provinces where English education has made most progress. Let it be put to the credit, too, of the same education, that it produced Bankim Chatterji, the Bengali Walter Scott, and that a witness before the Calcutta University Commission reported: "I am not aware of any distinguished Bengali writer who is ignorant of English".[4] But English has produced this result indirectly and perversely by arousing a national feeling and reaction against exotic culture. The

Bengali genius has found its natural expression in voicing what lies closest to the heart of the Bengali people. Stimulated undoubtedly by foreign influence, it has gone for direct inspiration to national life and aspirations. When the Bengali wishes to explain or expound Shakespeare to his countrymen, he accomplishes or fails to accomplish his task in English. We have helped India linguistically to find herself. We have not helped its intelligentsia to interpret the West to their brethren. Again we have done what we never dreamed of doing and failed in our original purpose.

Macaulay and Trevelyan expected that English would have the same stimulating effect as French and Italian literature produced in England. They were not wrong. But they forgot that Chaucer in his later work was far more English than Italian, and that it would be impossible for the lay reader to disentangle the foreign elements in Elizabethan literature or Victorian text-books. Unfortunately they were not content with this. They must needs go further and claim for English a position analogous to that of Latin in relation to the romance languages and literature. Not content with expelling the oriental classical tongues, as instruments of instruction, to make way for English, they exalted this new medium as the classical language of the new Indian culture. This is where confusion begins, to end in controversy " full of sound and fury, signifying nothing ".

Precisely as Rome absorbed Greek literature, so the argument ran, and just as Græco-Roman literary influence after saturating Gaul and Spain passed northwards with the Normans and the Angevins into Britain, the English language and literature would ultimately triumph in India. " Imagine," writes Trevelyan, " an English literature based on the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles." [1] He did not pause to reflect on an English literature cut off completely from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles and based entirely on Sanskrit; yet India had in Sanskrit and Arabic its own classical and

structural languages, responsible for its culture to a far greater extent than Latin or Greek has been for our culture. And in the works of Tukaram and Tulsidas it had a vernacular at least as highly developed as the language of Anglo-Saxon Chronicles. English as a temporary medium of instruction was reasonable. English as a living and virile language was bound to influence India. But English as a substitute for the indigenous classics was doomed to disastrous failure. And Macaulay's confusion of these two aspects of English was to be equally disastrous.

For he passed imperceptibly, and with that fatal facility of his, from reasonable arguments in support of the purely educational device which made English an instrument of instruction to wholly unreasonable arguments in support of the cultural theory that English was the only possible basis for Indian civilisation. Where one ends and the other begins cannot be traced. Confusion is worse confounded by failure to distinguish English as a medium from English as a subject of instruction.

As a result of such confusion the temporary use of English as an educational expedient was associated indelibly in Indian minds with the vilification and expulsion of indigenous culture, and the continuance, suspension, or modification of this expedient became a racial question. Indians who, up to 1880 or beyond, prided themselves on out-Macaulaying Macaulay believed that in opposing the efforts of Government to develop and use the vernacular they were fighting for western against oriental culture and opposing a reaction. The final stage of confusion was reached when this perverted echo of Macaulay's sentiments was exalted into a "national" watchword, and politicians who could not trace its origin combined with their curses on a Government that ignored "national" culture criticism of its efforts on behalf of the vernaculars, on the ground that they were opposed to "national" feeling. When the "national" schools that arose from the non-co-operation

movement emphasised their aloofness from the satanic government schools by beginning English at an earlier stage, they may be said to have worked off in full India's " ancient grudge " against Macaulay.

It was many years before the educational authorities were able to extricate this question of educational method from the web of political and racial feeling in which it was entangled. But the last twenty years have seen a determined attempt to deal with it systematically and educationally. The general result has been a distinct, though very cautious, movement in the vernacular direction. The Calcutta University Commission, though prepared to advance its use in schools, urged the retention of English in the higher stages. The replies given by witnesses before that Commission indicated that only 12 per cent. out of a large number supported exclusive use of the vernacular, and of these more than half would make the substitution gradual. More than half of the total number opposed all use of a vernacular except in the actual teaching of a vernacular language as a subject.[1]

The evidence is marked by an absence of racial or political feeling, and it is noted by the Commissioners that educational opinion on the subject cuts clear across all lines of religious, social, political, and racial cleavage. This is not the place for any discussion of the educational pros and cons. Enough has been said to show that the Government in its original but temporary measure was actuated by reasons that still appeal to a large portion of the educated Indian community, and that its efforts to develop and encourage the vernacular have been usually in advance of public opinion and sometimes opposed to it. Those who urge that the Government should have taken a firm line, in defiance if necessary of Indian opinion, in order to relieve the Indian student of the appalling weight of assimilating a foreign culture through a foreign tongue, must remember that no external influence can actually create a vernacular

literature for schools, and that it is as difficult to force their own languages down the throats of the Indian peoples as it is to force a foreign language. It must be remembered, too, that India affords by no means the only example of bi-lingual education, that is of education through a foreign medium, and that this multiplicity of vernaculars and the varying level of their attainments greatly complicate the problem. In its general abstention of late from any uniform or binding rules the Government has shown real wisdom. That its early handling of the question has been responsible for some of the confusion and false issues seems probable. The aim of this section has been not to blame the Government but to emphasise one of the chief difficulties that have attended the foundation and maintenance of a state educational system in India.

CHAPTER VIII

THE BEARING OF STATE AIMS AND METHODS ON EDUCATION OF THE MASSES

Caste a dividing influence—Cultural distinctions emphasised by reliance on English and failure to develop vernaculars—" Filtration " theory—Origin and dangers—Early efforts at mass education—Policy of 1854—Unsatisfactory results—Responsibility of Government.

THE use of English as a means of instruction and the inability of Government to develop the vernaculars have widened the gulf that separates the intelligentsia of India from the masses. The conditions of India, but more particularly of Hindu life, have always favoured such separation. Though caste on its social and ceremonial side is cohesive, in so far as it unites men of varying rank, wealth, and official position, its cultural influence is dividing. In essence symbolic of spiritual functions and attainments, it separates castes whose " dharma " is work for the material needs of the community, confined largely to artisans, agriculturists, and petty traders, from castes equipped by birth and status for a more " spiritual " life and adopting for the most part professions that enable them to find means and leisure for such a life. That it is the duty of such castes to extend a hand to other castes by widening their intellectual outlook or deepening their spiritual life is not primarily a Hindu conviction. By gradual stages the primitive races of India have been and are being absorbed within the family of Hinduism. But this family contains many cultural stages ; gross forms of superstitious ignorance, inconceivable in the higher, are not only tolerated but recognised as structurally necessary in the lower stages.

In the optimistic circles of 1835 these lines of cleavage were marked down for extinction. Every man endowed with western language and learning would be an apostle eager to spread the good news and to adapt his mother tongue to this purpose. They seem to have envisaged Indian squire or parson returning from his University career to open village schools, tract depôts, and lecture halls. But the Indian landholder or temple priest was not easily attracted to western learning. And those who find their way from villages or the crowded artisan quarters of great cities have been more anxious to use their learning for their own advantage than for the good of those from whom they have sprung. Their western knowledge removed them from the masses for many years, until, inspired with hatred for its results, they have been impelled to warn the ignorant against it. Their knowledge of English confined them for a time to speech and writing unintelligible to the masses, till the need for rousing them against the West suggested a vernacular appeal. The appeal was made in the vernacular press, not through text-books, and was read by the village teacher, not in his school, but to the village elders under the village tree.

The gulf thus artificially widened was extended into a "salt estranging sea" when the field of educational effort was limited at the start to the higher castes and classes. The "Filtration" theory was elaborated.[1] Education was to permeate the masses from above. Drop by drop from the Himalayas of Indian life useful information was to trickle downwards, forming in time a broad and stately stream to irrigate the thirsty plains. Thus metaphorically expressed the idea was exhilarating. With reference to hard facts it meant little more than that funds were strictly limited and sufficient only for circles where a real demand existed or could easily be stimulated, the need for English knowing public servants pressing and the difficulties of creating vernacular schools and text-books appalling. These

reasons were perhaps sufficient to justify the limited purpose to which available funds were actually devoted. Nearly forty years were to elapse before the English Parliament recognised by legislation its full responsibility for the education of the masses of England. But it would have been wiser to abstain from any further and dangerously metaphorical justification. For the metaphor survived, to be a powerful weapon in the hands of those who through scepticism as to the possibilities of mass education, instinctive prejudice against broadcast culture or a selfish desire to appropriate all that was available for their caste fellows, were to display for fifty years or more chilling apathy, or at times even active opposition, towards the authorities' efforts to make the system less top-heavy.

For the filtration theory, even during the few years of its official existence, was challenged by some of those who were entrusted with the task of acting on it. In Madras the efforts to revive and extend the indigenous village school begun by the sturdy and well-informed Sir Thomas Munro were continued. And in Bombay vernacular education, in spite of frosty references by the Governor-General to the approved policy, was pushed forward so vigorously that Sir Charles Wood, in his famous Despatch of 1854, in which the need for encouraging all kinds of education, and not least that of the masses, was first authoritatively recognised, was able to contrast Bombay's 12,000 pupils in vernacular schools with the paltry 1400 attending 33 schools in the Bengal Presidency. This despatch, for which some, at least, of the credit must be assigned to strong mission influence, insisted on the need of supplying " useful and practical knowledge " to the masses of every district in India, and on the apparent impossibility of their getting any education worthy of the name by their own unaided efforts. It refused to draw any hard and fast line between vernacular and Anglo-vernacular education, since both kinds must " aim at the diffusion of useful knowledge," and, with

the hasty optimism that always characterises lay utterances on education but was specially noticeable in mid-Victorian times, it added that " eventually masters in all schools should have some knowledge of English ".

Since the date of this despatch valiant though unhappily spasmodic efforts have been made by the provincial governments, sometimes under the whip of the Government of India, to remove the disgrace and danger of an illiterate proletariat. The nature and results of these efforts will be examined later. But it may be noted that the policy in the main has been that laid down in the 1854 despatch and confirmed by the 1882 Commission, namely, reliance on grants in aid by which indigenous schools were induced to submit to official inspection and advice, private bodies, and particularly missions, were encouraged to open additional schools, and local authorities, from 1881 onwards, were assisted to provide schools where required within their areas. A question to be discussed at an appropriate and later stage is whether the State which, in our opinion wrongly, had identified itself with the system of higher education, ought not to have reserved its energies for the education of the masses, and held itself, rather than the local authorities and casual benefactors, responsible for supplying the required minimum in every district.

The efforts of Government, in any case, whether well directed or not, have been admittedly unsuccessful, if, as may be assumed, their general aim has remained that of the 1854 Despatch. The figures representing the numbers at each stage of education, to be analysed later, still suggest a system uncomfortably like an inverted pyramid. The last quinquennial report on education (1917-22) is unable to detect signs of any " general advance in the battle against illiteracy ". The Census of 1921 found only 8·2 per cent. of the population over 5 years of age able to read and write. Out of every hundred men only fourteen and out of every hundred women two are literate.[1]

The enlightened public, apathetic or definitely unprogressive up to the '80's, when the Congress [1] began to look for subjects of complaint, has found since then the admittedly deplorable statistics a useful stick with which to beat the Government. And the Government, in so far as many years back it originated and defended the filtration theory, must be held to deserve a beating. For, by so doing, it encouraged the separation of mass from class, town from country, western from eastern modes of thought and life, to which India, left to herself, has always been too prone. It established the idea that education is a luxury, an investment perhaps also for the thrifty, but an investment in which privileged classes will receive most assistance from the State. It obscured the truth that the " education of the peoples of India " means nothing if it does not mean the development of the cultural instincts and the raising of the material level of all classes of those peoples.

CHAPTER IX

THE BEARING OF STATE AIMS AND METHODS ON THE EDUCATION OF WOMEN

Neglect of subject in early stages—Government scruples—Bethune and Dalhousie—Deplorable results of original apathy—Present position—Importance of women in Indian life—Our failure to appreciate—Hence failure to influence personality and social life.

If the Government by their initial exclusion of the masses accentuated the segregation of those masses from the privileged few, by their initial restriction of their efforts to the male population they brought a line of division, where it had never existed before, within the household. In these days, when the authorities proclaim daily to a somewhat sceptical India, unconvinced by their genuine efforts and pessimistic as to their results, the supreme importance of women's education, it is difficult to believe that Bentinck and Macaulay contemplated, in the near future at least, and there was no other future for them, no attack on the "ignorance and superstition" of half the population of India and more than half of its vital force. But no funds were allotted for the education of women. The problem was not seriously considered. The movement towards equality of educational opportunities at home was only beginning to be considered seriously by thinkers such as Mill and Maurice. The sex which was marked out by nature to be a domestic ornament in England might safely be left to the same function in India. Danger in fact lay in any other course. When, in 1849, a member of the Bengal Government [1] was bold enough to associate his name

—the honoured name of Bethune—with a school founded for Hindu "females" in Calcutta, the cry of "the home in danger" was raised. It was urged that a Government which was openly supporting mission boy schools could not indirectly, through the connexion of one of its members, encourage a girls' school without the charge of "violating religious neutrality". The native communities would rise against the intrusion of western knowledge into the intimacies of home life. They would never submit their womenfolk to the equalising and emancipating influence of "public instruction". It is greatly to Lord Dalhousie's credit that, in his impetuous way, he over-rode his timid advisers and not only supported Bethune but approved cordially the actual recognition of the school by the Bengal Government. He secured also the somewhat chilly approval of the Court of Directors for his daring action. The warning went forth that "great caution and prudence would be required" and it was *not* thought advisable to associate Her Majesty's name with an enterprise about which such doubt was felt.

A half-hearted start such as this following after fourteen years a decided refusal to consider girls at all held out little hope of rapid progress. And the results have, in fact, been deplorable. Despite recent acceleration the quinquennial report, (1917-22), shows that of the Hindu female population 0·9 per cent., of the Mohammedan 1·1, and of the Indian Christian 8 are attending school. The school-going portion of a population may be taken at between 15 and 20 per cent. But even these attendance figures are delusive. For of those attending school 40 per cent. have not reached the stage of "reading printed books". Most girls leave before reaching puberty, and very many are at school merely because their parents appreciate the advantages of a free crêche. The Census figures of 1921 show that only two females out of every hundred of five or more years of age are able to read and write.[1] The figures for higher education reveal a more striking disproportion. In Bengal the Calcutta

University Commission found 490 girls in the four top forms of high schools out of a female population of twenty-two millions.[1] In fact if, viewed numerically and by stages, the system of male education resembles an inverted pyramid, that of women's education is remarkably like a flat pancake. The figures would be far more distressing if communities such as the Parsee, Anglo-Indian, and Indian Christian were removed. Missionaries have from the start been convinced and stalwart pioneers. And progressive provinces such as Bombay and Madras veil the appalling backwardness of other provinces.

"Female education," to quote a subordinate's report which has become a classic, "is carried on in response to a demand that does not exist." The efforts made to stimulate a demand and to face other amazingly difficult obstacles must be discussed separately. What must here be emphasised is that the Government by its timidity and stumbling at the start has been largely responsible for India's inability to take the subject seriously.

It is difficult indeed for the authorities, despite all their heroic efforts, to take it seriously. No one who has visited a girls' school with the normal Brahmin inspecting officer can attribute to the Hindu any deficiency of humour. Those at the top are more alive to the significance of the figures and less tangible but more alarming results. But it is difficult for them to regard women's education in its true light, not as an appendage to male education, largely decorative and to be encouraged as far as funds, public apathy, and scanty leisure permit, but as the condition on which ultimately the success of male education depends, the fundamental basis of any real and permanent regeneration of Indian national life.

The importance of the woman in the Indian household has never properly been appreciated by the Englishman to whom the home life is but seldom revealed. Let us hear what a Hindu has to say about it and realise that much of

what he says could be supported by a Mohammedan. For that Islamic device, the purda, signifies the reverence attached to women and the wish to concentrate their influence on the home far more than the Victorian idea of female inferiority.

Woman, as she presents herself to Hindu imagination,[1] is the priestess of the home, watering the sacred plant, keeping the sacred fire, guarding sacramentally the purity of the food by her ablution and prayers. Her household service is an act of " bhakti " (personal devotion), she goes abroad only for pilgrimage. But within the house she is the centre of all activity, not shut off in any way from the males of varying ages and generations but influencing vitally their home talk, thought, and actions. In the wife and mother, and even in the concubine, deity is immanent. Krishna must have his Radha, Siva his Parvati, and Vishnu his Lakshmi. In Kali modern Bengal adores the motherland.

She has never been regarded as unfit for arts and accomplishments. Sanskrit literature has many examples of learned ladies and there are women poets. Does not a Sanskrit educationalist draw up a list of sixty-four arts for young ladies ? Did not Sankara deign to argue with a woman Pandit ? Sita and Draupadi, Savitri and Damayanti know how to retain love by other arts than those of the toilet and were real companions, as is the Hindu wife of to-day.

This, we are led to believe, is the woman who was first excluded from our system of education and then invited timidly to come in as a supplementary feature, decorative and desirable, but not essential. It is not surprising that India is not interested in her admission to such a system. The system has never been regarded by India as influencing the whole or the most vital parts of Indian life. The family and the social system have been left outside and with the family was left the mainstay of family life. Remote from the unreal world of school and profession she will continue

to animate and inform the real world of home. She will be among the first to applaud the condemnation of a satanic and disintegrating West, and she will insist, if her husband has to lead a double life, on dominating the more important half.

CHAPTER X

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

General characteristics of our system—Its contribution to modern India now to be surveyed—Subjected to unjust criticism—Not predominantly literary—Utilitarian not cultural—Evils of examinations perhaps exaggerated—Unrest an inevitable concomitant of growth—Survey to be appreciative, not destructive—Excellent intentions and disinterested motives of Government—Beginnings of a path.

An educational system which is the natural and spontaneous expression of national life grows like a tree, dependent for its nourishment on the soil, fresh air, and sunlight, and for its general characteristics on the aspirations and traditions from which, as from a seed, it grows. A system created by and identified with an alien Government is more like a building. The weakest of such systems are like buildings planned and completed without reference to the need for subsequent modification and expansion, and for the fulfilment of a purpose that the nature of the soil or the quality of the materials renders impracticable. The best are like rambling and obviously unfinished houses, showing signs everywhere of change of plans during construction, with no very definite purpose, but clearly habitable and capable at any time of modification and expansion. For the tree-like system the Government confines itself to such subsidiary tasks as turning over the soil, safeguarding the provision of sun and air, fencing the sapling against cattle and lopping off superfluous branches. For the structural system, the Government is owner's agent, architect, and contractor rolled into one.

It is primarily with the British Government as architect

that we have had so far to deal. Critical examination of the original plans and foundations has revealed grave defects, due mainly to ignorance of the nature of the soil and the quality of building materials. Some of these defects, as we have seen, were detected by the Government as architect at various stages of the operations and the discovery led to modification of the plans and to new conceptions of the purpose of the building being approved, or at least accepted, by the Government as owner's agent. The result has been that the building in its present stage may be included in the second and superior category of rambling, amorphous structures, lacking unity of design, but serviceable, adaptable, and capable of enlargement. It is fulfilling a very definite purpose, though one that would have surprised and shocked those responsible for its foundations.

Our task now will be to examine in more detail the nature of this edifice, to see how far and by what means the difficulties imposed by defective plans and foundations or by inherent qualities of soil and materials have been surmounted, and what part the building as a whole plays, and will be likely to play, in the life of India. It will be pleasant to pass from a critical to an appreciative atmosphere. For though it was necessary to criticise the past for the legacy of obstacles bequeathed to the present, it is equally necessary to defend the present authorities against much of the criticism superficially directed by those who do not appreciate the conditions and antecedents of their work. The attitude of the really thoughtful critic, still more of one who has worked in the vineyard and had time for subsequent reflection, will probably be that of Dr. Johnson towards the lady preacher: "Sir, it reminds me of a dog dancing on its hind legs. 'Tis not done well. The wonder is 'tis done at all."

Our scrutiny will cover many forms of laudable activity which a critical examination of foundations has been able to ignore. And it will deal with some aspects that are by

many held to be a grave reflection on the Government, and traceable to defective planning. We shall try to show that the real faults which inspire these charges arise from the conditions under which the work has been carried on, that these conditions have been understood by the authorities and that their nature has been such as no modification of plans or foundations could remove. Defects of this nature have not been included with defects already considered under such heads as education of the masses or of women, for which early plans and methods or the general educational attitude must be condemned. Among these unproven charges may be included, for instance, that which is connected with the alleged absence of provision for vocational training and the disproportionate importance attached to literary education. We shall try to show that our education on the contrary has been essentially vocational, grossly utilitarian in fact, at the cost of cultural efficiency and that we have not as yet built up a substructure of general education on which all specialised forms of training must be based. That our higher schools and colleges prepare for an obviously limited number of " vocations," and largely, though by no means exclusively, for the clerical, administrative, legal, medical, journalistic, and political professions, is due to no fault of the educational authorities, but to the absence of other " vocations " providing a living for a large number of trained men. Education must provide men where they are wanted and can be supported. The creation of new fields of activity is outside its sphere.

Nor have we pilloried the predominance of examinations to which so much attention has been drawn, often by English critics who owe their career to success in such examinations and to the assiduity with which they have been prepared for them. There is no country which has so far discovered a harmless substitute for this necessary evil. The evil has, in India, been exaggerated by the fact that examinations have been mainly " external " and conducted

on too large a scale. There has been a marked movement of late towards the removal of these aggravating causes. But the concentration of attention by teacher and taught on these examinations is for the most part merely a symptom of the general subordination of the cultural to the utilitarian side of education. And this has already been traced to its source in a system that first excluded and then admitted, grudgingly and suspiciously, to a subordinate and secluded part of the courses all forms of Indian culture. If you do not strew flowers on the path of learning you must rely on examinations.

We shall not consider seriously either here or elsewhere the very common charge that our education has made the youth of India restless and discontented. This result was most certainly not contemplated by the original founders and cannot be traced to definite aims or methods in any stage. It must be accepted as an unpleasant but reassuring sign that India is growing and that our system of education has been, and is, partially at least, responsible for its growth. No effective system of education has ever produced men satisfied with things as they are. We may sympathise, as fathers, with those who condemned Socrates and may justifiably wish that the younger generation would include themselves among the objects of their discontent. But, as educationalists, we must admit that Socrates was effective. That the restlessness and discontent in India find too exclusive an expression in criticism of the West, and have not yet led India to see itself as others see it, is regrettable and, as we have suggested above, attributable to structural defects and the dualism we have encouraged. But it is a restlessness for the statesmen to use, for the police to chasten and control, and for the educationalist to direct and in no sense repress.

We pass then cheerfully to an appreciation of efforts which have been uniformly and uniquely distinguished throughout by a genuine desire for the welfare of India.

Good intentions are notoriously dangerous. The Government at the outset, in its desire to save India by substituting its own culture for what was indigenous, may remind some of the well-intentioned lady elephant, who atoned for her destruction of the brooding hen by sitting on the eggs. But the later progress of the Government on its educational course has for the most part been that of a discreet elephant. Delicate and small shrubs may here and there have been damaged or destroyed. But there has been a genuine desire to spare gardens and lift babies out of the way. And with " deliberate speed, majestic instancy " a path through the jungle is being effected by the persistent action of her discriminating trunk. There may be doubts about the direction and ultimate destination. But the beginnings of a path are there.

PART II

HARVEST

CHAPTER XI

EDUCATION AND POLITICS

Recent reforms an act of faith—Fitness for self-government not till recently an explicit aim—English and Indian political ideas—Absence of political development—Efforts to produce spirit of citizenship—And results—Effect of paternal government—Racial characteristics and civic responsibility—Individual and caste *v.* community—Reforms Enquiry Committee—Obstacles to progress on western lines—A new outlook wanted and effective mass education—Politicians and the masses—No constructive activity—"Asking for more"—Slow advance—Due to political incapacity or nature of reform schemes?—Growth of parties—National self-defence—Effect of great war and Reforms Act on education—Students and politics—Changed attitude of Government—Difficulties owing to State control—Reasons for students' interest in politics—Their dissatisfaction with educational system—Efforts to remove causes—The non-cöoperation movement and schools—Schools as bulwarks of bureaucracy—"Moderates" and "extremists"—Their political and educational significance—Summary.

THE report which preceded and inspired the Government of India Act of 1919 analysed in a brilliant and convincing manner the local and racial characteristics which made self-government on western lines an embarrassing gift for India.[1] Its opening chapters translated into polite secretariat language Lord Morley's more truculent reference of the preceding decade to the inappropriateness of a fur coat in a tropical climate. But Lord Morley was not always right. Had he not also, less publicly, expressed his mistrust of "natives in positions of high responsibility"? And had not the work done by educated Indians on the provincial and supreme Executive Councils proved that such mistrust, if it had imposed a veto on experiment, would have been unjustified? Faith, triumphant in the past, had still its work to do.

A realistic presentation of the results of our educational

policy suggested that the divine discontent of the intelligentsia must be allayed and the pathetic content of the masses qualified by the gift that India claimed for her services and loyalty in the war. But it was the faith implicit in Parliament, and explicit in the authors of the fateful pronouncement of 1917 and in Mr. Montagu, that pointed to a western form of government as the best means of accomplishing this two-fold task. It was what they found in the product of high school and college or inferred from the sterility of elementary schools that made the Government of India Act only a stage on the road towards responsible self-government on British constitutional lines and necessitated the proviso that the rate of further advance was to be determined by India's behaviour during this stage. The Minotaur among constitutions, born of the union of West and East, " mixtumque genus prolesque biformis " had unmistakably paternal features. But the faith which inspired the begetter was qualified by fear which educational facts and figures intensified rather than removed.

The constitution, though consistent in purpose with the aims of western education, was invested in its cradle with oriental swathing bands appropriate to actual educational results.

The constitution framers, so far as they were genuinely and occidentally progressive, looked to the future rather than to the educational past for justification. They would, in fact, have been unreasonable if they had expected to find institutions dominated by a desire to train political leaders and an " enlightened electorate " for a Dominion form of government. Bentinck wanted to train Indian administrators but did not propose that India should eventually determine for herself the character of that administration. The possibility of political independence had been referred to by Sir Thomas Munro and enshrined in a phrase, for literary reference only, by Macaulay. It was not an educational factor in the nineteenth century, and a proposal to

employ it as such at the beginning of this century would have thrown Lord Curzon into an apoplexy. All the diplomacy of his successors could not alter the impression left by that masterful ruler that good government rather than self-government was the ultimate aim, and that the policy for which the intelligent co-operation of India was sought, through the gift of local self-government, and later through the Morley-Minto reforms, was the policy of India's English rulers. Lord Curzon did more than any other ruler of India since Bentinck's time to stamp the educational policy with his own characteristics. What he believed was taught in school and college for the first fifteen years of this century. And such teaching could not have had for its avowed object the development of an aptitude for a western and democratic system of party government.

But schools would be poor places if their achievements were determined by their prospectus. It is only the possible emergence of something beyond their range of expectation that keeps schoolmasters alive. It will be interesting, then, to see how far, if at all, an aptitude for a western constitution has actually been fostered by Indian education. Such an inquiry may suggest modes of adapting this education to urgent political needs.

Students of Indian history know, though the Congress politician of last century was prone to forget, how foreign to the genius and traditions of the Indian peoples is the whole spirit of the English constitution. Dictatorship, from time immemorial, has been the recognised and approved form of government in India. Her political tendency to resolution into mutually repellent particles has been checked by the periodical application of one device, despotism, with a religious basis if possible, supported by military force and a deterrent penal system and consolidated by an efficient bureaucracy. Evolution has been spiritual and social but never political. Personality has always been supreme in politics. Institutions and the ideas they embody

have been ignored. That a king should perform his regal "dharma" and rule with an eye to the protection of the masses, and that no wise ruler will unsettle the minds of ignorant people, is the substance of Indian political wisdom.[1]

In such an atmosphere no orderly development of parliamentary or municipal government was possible. Even in the Indian village, which it was fashionable at one time to regard as unmoved by the internal wars and external invasions that overthrew dynasties and convulsed cities, there has been no political growth or continuity. There may have been in the far distant age of Chola supremacy a highly organised system of self-governing village communities. But ruthless centralisation and military autocracy have left no traces of it. The municipal organisation of Lord Ripon and recent attempts to give legal rights and duties to village "panchayats" have not been based on what we found in India, but are something wholly new and alien to its traditions.

Clearly the educationalist who wished to raise from such soil the virtues by which a people can conduct a modern state on western lines would have to treat the soil with assiduous care. We have seen that the schoolmaster in India so far has had no such explicit aim. He may prove himself equal to the task when a community, transformed by the acceptance of responsibility, has expressly assigned it to him with an assurance of support from an enlightened public. Meanwhile let us see what political assets he has, without any set political purpose, produced from such unpromising materials in an apathetic or sometimes hostile atmosphere.

The development of the spirit of good citizenship, of a sense of civic responsibility, has been for many years an aim of British education in India. To raise the student above the level of family caste or communal duties to the status of a citizen of a well-ordered State and to invest those duties with at least an equal interest and a cogency superior at

times to that of more domestic obligations is a task emphasised in countless resolutions of government, in every institution for the training of teachers and in almost every report read and speech delivered at school ceremonies and prize distributions.

In the time-tables of all grades of schools time has been devoted either to "civics" as a separate subject or to instruction in the duties of citizenship as an important portion of the history course. No pains have been spared to familiarise teachers and taught with the civic and constructive work of the agricultural, forests, and industries departments and with other nation-building activities. The part played by the police in a well-ordered State has been demonstrated, and the need for cordial co-operation by citizens endowed with a lively conception of the uses of each department has been emphasised. The significance of local self-government and the rights and duties with which every citizen is thereby invested have received careful attention.

Equally emphatic have been the indirect efforts to inculcate a civic feeling through the general organisation of school life and activities outside the schoolroom. Life in the hostels has been planned with a view to encouraging ideas of service to the community, and subordination of the individual to the good of the whole. School and inter-school games of a systematic and comprehensive nature have encouraged the notion of playing for the side and dedicating activities to the honour of the school. The last ten years have witnessed a most enthusiastic development of scouting for boys. It may fairly be claimed that the civic ideals of the boy scouts have been impressed by training in camps and schools on thousands of boys throughout India.

No impartial observers would assert that the efforts inadequately described above have been unrewarded. Distinct signs of a growing civic feeling are manifest in many parts and among many classes and communities of India. But the majority report of the Committee appointed to

consider the working of the Reforms Act, and the last annual report of Professor Rushbrook Williams on the condition and progress of India, confirm the feeling common among the most devoted supporters of Indian advancement that among large masses of the population and over large areas of the country there is absolutely no sense of civic responsibility and that even among the better educated it is by no means so strong as it should be. The general attitude towards the police is one of resentment and suspicion, and the active co-operation of individual, clan, or community is almost unknown. Any attempt by the intelligentsia to explain to the masses the purpose and significance of the protection of forest land by the forest department, and thereby to mitigate the villagers' dislike of that department, is still so exceptional as to elicit a surprised and prominent reference. It is almost impossible to persuade a graduate ratepayer that he and his fellow-ratepayers are jointly responsible for the defects of their municipality. The elementary principle that ratepayers must pay in before a municipal committee can pay out is not effectively understood. Energetic action against defaulting ratepayers is constantly deprecated by the ratepayers' representative. The sentimental humanitarianism which suggests that "it will no doubt go hard with the man if we prosecute, for he is a large family man," has not given way before the more robust conviction that the man who does not pay his rates is shirking his duty towards the community. Education has not yet established in India the feeling that the State or the township or the village have their rights and a claim to the loyalty of individuals, and that it is disastrous to stop short at, or rest content with, the safeguarding of the rights and privileges of the individual, the family, or the caste.

The optimist attributes this defect to the comparatively restricted range of education and still more to political antecedents. Many claim also that the recent reforms, in failing to confer real power on the electorate or their re-

presentatives, have contributed nothing towards the growth of civic responsibility. That education as it is extended will exercise a more powerful influence cannot be denied. Criticism of the reforms need not here be considered; for we are dealing with the period that preceded them. That the system of paternal and autocratic government prior to 1920 checked the growth of intelligent and active citizenship which education was trying to foster is partially true. Where a bureaucratic Government not only does everything for the country but proclaims abroad this aspect of its rule, the citizens' responsibility cannot very effectively be realised. If the Government is all-powerful its police cannot require my assistance. If it is all-wise it cannot want my advice. If its policy is not ultimately controlled by me I have no responsibility for its success or failure. Such an attitude was undoubtedly prevalent among the intelligentsia of the first twenty years of this century. It was consistent with the production in our colleges of sound administrators, capable professional men, and politicians to whom politics is the art of opposition. But it was not conducive to the growth of responsible statesmen, party leaders, or an intelligent and informed electorate.

The comfortable expectation that the passing of benevolent despotism will ensure the rapid growth of public spirit and civic responsibility is not so potent among those who have watched from inside the efforts of schools and schoolmasters to develop similar qualities in the smaller world of school life. From that world it has been possible to exclude some at least of those elements of an alien and bureaucratic rule which are inconsistent with the growth of public spirit. The fact that such growth in the protected area of school life has, none the less, been lamentably stunted suggests that there are racial characteristics opposed to its growth which will require of our educationalists even more concentrated attention than they have received in the past.

Indian schoolboys and students leave on European

observers the impression that personality is to them everything, and the institution or idea that it embodies practically nothing. To a teacher who has appreciated their sentiment and responded to them emotionally they will surrender themselves wholeheartedly. That a school as a whole with its rules and organisation, its ideas and traditions, could claim similar adoration and surrender of individual desires is to them almost incomprehensible. A school or college is known and respected on the ideal side because of its principal and on the practical side because of its examination successes. Even the Christian College in Madras, which perhaps, in the first decade of this century, came nearer to being an "institution" than any other college in India, was associated in name and sentiment with the name and personality of the great Dr. Miller rather than with any corporate tradition or life. An ex-student would call himself one of Miller's pupils, but would not necessarily bear a certain stamp or exemplify in his attitude much of the college life.

Equally well marked in student and schoolboy is an exaggerated deference to the rights of the individual, a sentimental respect for the feelings of a fellow-student, and a jealous regard for his own rights or feelings. There must above all be no "harshness"; life must be as smooth as possible for the individual. Till quite recently it was customary for students to be addressed by one another, even in the games field, as Mr. or Babu or their equivalents. That the school as a whole or through self-appointed representatives should take strong measures against those who set their interests against those of the school is thought intolerable and inconceivable. Though determined efforts have been made to evolve a monitorial system, any strenuous assertion of disciplinary rights would result in effective threats of recourse to the civil or criminal courts. The master who wishes in enforcing punishment to escape such threats must depict the offence as a personal insult to himself or as

injurious to the examination results of the offender. A reference to the interests, prestige, or traditions of the school would rarely be effective.

More perhaps has been done by inter-school games and tournaments than in any other way to encourage a corporate feeling of loyalty and service. To watch the final of a collegiate tournament is the best way of acquiring a hopeful attitude towards the political future of India. Yet even here the tendency to stop rather far short of any conception of the good of the whole is lamentably conspicuous. The team and its supporters are vociferously anxious to win honour and the shield for the college. But they find it very hard to regard the rules of the game and tournament as sacred, in so far as they have been framed and must therefore be observed in the interests of all colleges alike and for the success of the sport and competition as a whole. The tendency is rather to regard the rules when adversely applied as tyranny which is to be outwitted and to complain when such application is strict that " it will no doubt go hard with " the penalised side.

With these characteristic obstacles to corporate unity in the higher grades of schools and colleges we cannot expect to find what in fact we fail to find, the seeds of good citizenship effectively planted in elementary schools for the masses. What has happened in England suggests that in India also the corporate feeling will be extended gradually from the higher to the lower grades of institutions.

Of educational efforts generally in this direction it may be said that they have been on the right lines and inspired by a genuine conviction of their importance. In some institutions a sense of unity has triumphed to the extent of inter-caste feeding, though for the most part boarding-houses are forced to recognise caste distinctions in their messing arrangements. In other institutions, not all under Christian mission management, determined efforts are being made to interest the pupils practically as well as theoretically in the

social and economic conditions of lower and less fortunate classes of society. But in most parts of south and central India the admission of an "untouchable" to a school not intended solely or mainly for such pupils still excites a vigorous protest. Though there are many who show in their professional or public life a consciousness that citizens of a progressive State "are members one of another," they seem in comparison with those who are apparently destitute of such feeling but a handful.

Education still has much to accomplish before it can be said of India as a whole that it is equipped for the work of a State on western democratic lines. A system which from unfavourable soil has succeeded only in raising so tender and delicate a slip of civic virtue can clearly have contributed but little, in the absence of express instructions and aim, towards the growth of qualities that party government on western lines requires.

The defects noted by the majority of the Reforms Inquiry Committee on a survey of four years' working of the "reformed" Government are what observers of the educational system and, we may add, the drafter of the first part of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, would have anticipated. The vast masses of the population which have so far been outside the circle, or precariously on the circumference of our educational efforts, provide none of the qualities that constitute an intelligent and articulate electorate. Among the very few of them who are at present enfranchised hardly any could understand the meaning of an election programme, even if there were parties and party leaders capable of formulating such programmes. If their votes are inspired by anything higher than fear or superstition, the colours of the voting boxes or the degree of external pressure applied, it is the personality of the candidate, not the principles for which he stands, that is decisive. The many virtues of an illiterate peasantry, their devotion to religion, land, and family, are not essentially those which

consolidate representative government. " Preoccupied with the difficulties of physical existence, passionately attached to their holdings, they are resentful of interference or oppression but indifferent to any larger issues save religion."[1] Among them the Indian conception of the Government as something in which the people has no share still prevails. That they are responsible for and represented in that Government is far from their thoughts. If the local member is ever regarded as a popular representative, his function as such in the eyes of his constituents is limited to the representation of their grievances and the criticism of a Government for the constructive work of which he is not responsible. If they are ever united under the lead of such a representative, such unity is inspired by economic distress, racial antipathy or religious suspicion and operates as a turbulent and destructive mountain torrent, not as an irrigation channel fertilising the political area. It is true that Mr. Gandhi almost succeeded at one time, not only in awakening the masses from their " pathetic content," which as a permanent factor in Indian life has existed only in the mind of Mr. Montagu, but also in the more difficult task of uniting them under one leader. His partial success was due to his personality and not to the principles for which he stood. It was due even more to his being the personification as it were of those waves of economic, social, and religious feeling by which large masses of the population are so often swept. To interpret it as a sign of the political awakening of the masses is to misunderstand completely its significance. Gandhi the politician soon lost the hold over the peasantry and artisans that Gandhi the saint had obtained. The masses of India will become, in the western sense, politically minded only when a real and pervasive kind of education has completely altered their mental attitude and given them a new outlook on life.

The need for improving and extending the education of the masses, as a condition of political advance on western

lines, has been fully recognised in theory by the intelligentsia of India. The steps taken by the politically important section of this community to meet this need will be described elsewhere. It is enough here to say that while they have by legislation made universal compulsory education permissible, and while by their speeches and resolutions they have insisted on the utilisation of the opportunities afforded by legislation, they have done little which indicates any real and practical determination to secure the additional funds which extension on the contemplated scale demands. The unreality which has spread from our schools and colleges over the political area is nowhere so manifest as in the treatment of the financial aspect of mass education by the reformed Governments. There is no conscious insincerity among those at least who are genuinely anxious for advance on western lines. What the West educationally has found necessary must ultimately be necessary for the East. But an advance beyond pious resolutions and conferences is not practical politics at present. In the field of political activity there is more urgent and inviting work. The Government of India with their usual optimism stated in 1918 that "the proposed extensions of the franchise will furnish in themselves a special incentive to an early expansion of elementary education".[1] But the time for actual financial sacrifice, for putting into practice the theory that mass education is a political investment so necessary as to justify hands in every man's pocket, has not yet come.

For the Indian politician is not yet thinking in terms of his electorate and sees no real need for establishing any direct political contact with the masses. Numerically in fact the electorate is so small as to escape notice. The total number of voters registered for electing members of the Imperial Legislative Assembly was only 800,000 in 1924 and only 350,000 actually voted.[2] But the masses are always at hand as useful inflammable material when the necessity

arises periodically for convincing British statesmen and populace that " something must be done " in India. When the Swarajists abstained from participating in the first Councils elected under the Reforms Act, they used their leisure skilfully in establishing economic, religious, and racial contact with the masses. To this extent they began the great task of bridging the gulf between the intelligentsia and the masses, between town and country, which the early fundamental mistake in our education policy had created. But the bridge-builders were not politically inspired and no educational torch has been carried over the bridge. There have been no attempts to inform and educate politically the masses by constructive manifestos and programmes. The people have been taught to associate a foreign Government in which they have no share with economic woes. They have not been taught to associate a representative Government with constructive schemes for the amelioration of their condition, nor warned that the path to such amelioration lies through co-operation, individual enterprise, and self-sacrifice. A village teacher who tried conscientiously to adapt his school to the present " political " education of the masses would begin the day's work with the hymn of hate and end it by variations on the theme of " Ask and ye shall receive ".

It is not perhaps surprising that India has become politically the Oliver Twist among nations. " Asking for more " is an absorbing and profitable task when the gruel, of rather more than workhouse consistency and richness, is dispensed by agents whose generosity in the past has been shown in such amazing and unexpected bursts. Those who consent in the act of " whispering they will ne'er consent " may be led anywhere, and the vociferous wooer is likely to succeed best. A pageant of Morleys denying any form of western government, followed by Montagus giving an instalment, which must positively suffice for ten years, and leading up to Birkenheads, who invite immediate schemes for a new constitution of any type, naturally tempts

politicians to live on thoughts of the future without much concern for the problems of the present. To those who already have a roof over their head it is at once more pleasant and more profitable to complain of a new house, and demand its expansion, than to furnish it at their own expense.

Unrest among the educated in India is not discontent with what has been given but a lively anticipation of further favours. And it is largely the work of men who in our schools and colleges have learned through the study of western history and literature not too little but dangerously much of the psychology of their English rulers, and who have been able to supplement such knowledge by what they have seen or read of modern English life and thought. Of the history and significance of political institutions and of all that is meant by political evolution they have learned far too little. Few even of the advanced history students realise how fundamentally Indian history differs from English in this respect. But there is very little they do not know of the English character. And their knowledge has not been gained solely or even mainly from study of the British official in his official capacity in India.

The educated Indian is usually blamed for wishing to jump the centuries and demanding as a free gift what the Englishman has won laboriously by his own efforts in the course of ages. He is told that many years of hard work, practical experience, and educational preparation are required to fit India for a western and democratic form of government. Against the handful of "moderate" politicians who have genuinely assimilated the doctrines of Burke and Morley, and who differ from their guides only in preferring an aeroplane to a stage coach, this line of attack is justifiable. But the "politically minded" of India in general are not greatly interested in western forms of government or their evolution. There is to them nothing sacrosanct in the English parliamentary system. A semblance

of it has been established in India because the English lacked the imagination to conceive of any other system. Like other western institutions it has served its purpose in stimulating thought and challenging the rivalry of the awakened East. But India once left free to its own devices may yet work out politically its own salvation. Some form of enlightened autocracy suited to the needs and circumstances of an awakened India may be excogitated, while the British nation, with that characteristic generosity of which educated India is well aware, allows its army and navy to keep the ring and avert the material and economic disasters hitherto associated with political upheavals in India.

It is useless to tell such men that these are idle dreams. Their reading of European history and English literature has convinced them that the Englishman is incurably romantic and generous, that in his heart of hearts he respects a man who undertakes a job for which he is not fitted by training or characteristics, that he is far more attentive to those who grumble and make themselves unpleasant than to those who are plodding and speechless, that national feeling means far more to him than efficiency and that he will give anything that can with honour be given (except outward praise) to him who can shout loud and shout long. An Indian who claims to be an Englishman and fit for English modes of government he will reject. The Indian who claims his right to be an Indian and to stew in his own juice he will laugh at, hit (not too hard) over the head when he becomes tiresome, and eventually gratify when the process of hitting seems likely to become troublesome to purse or pride. If Southern Ireland became a Free State by refusing to accept what was doled out in 1920, or to believe the subsequent threats of English statesmen, India has perhaps more to gain from carping at the Reforms Act of 1919 than from trying patiently to make it work. Such anyhow is the underlying conviction of those to whom we have taught history in our schools and colleges and whom

we have trained to draw conclusions from what they see in England or read in the English press. It is not a conviction that they are ready to express in public speech. For some it remains below the threshold of consciousness. In public they do not go beyond the assertion that in the western world might is right, and that England will give only what she is compelled to give. But the underlying motive of political action in India to-day is a deep, though not perhaps exhaustive, knowledge of the psychology of the English nation.

When we are told then by the Reforms Inquiry Committee that the politician is not in touch with his electorate and is making but little effort to educate politically his constituents, we can perhaps conclude from this that our system of education has failed to show him the present need for such work, but we must not proceed to argue that it has left him unequipped to undertake the task if at any time it seems necessary.

And when the same committee reports an absence of cohesive force or sense of party discipline, a failure to realise the need for compromise and concession, a love of obstruction and opposition triumphing over constructive zeal and patient elaboration of programme and party, we may attribute these defects, as we attributed the defective sense of civic responsibility, to the fact that education has so far effected only a partial and superficial change of racial characteristics. But it would be wrong to argue that education has failed completely or that these defects are unalterable. We may be quite sure that Indian politicians find it more profitable at present to unite India in a protest against British supremacy than to unite political parties in constructive programmes bearing on India's welfare. But the conclusion that education can never develop in India a capacity for united work of a constructive character would be unnecessarily pessimistic. Mr. Gandhi, attacked for his failure to produce any alternative to the British system of

government, stated in the Congress of 1924: "The end we do not know. For me it is enough to know the means. The means and the end are convertible terms in my philosophy of life." He was expressing in philosophical terms what to the philosopher seems ridiculous, but what to the practically minded in India has been for many years a commonplace. The government of Indians by Indians for Indians is to them the means by which India is to find herself and save her own soul. It is also the sole end to which the political activity of India is at present directed. Time and energy would be wasted by consideration of the use which India will make of her freedom. If in saving her soul she destroys materially and economically her body, that is her own concern. Moreover, there is in the last resort always the armed protection of the British Empire. It is a position which the apostles of self-determination and the rights of weak nations find it difficult to assail. And to the Indian politician it seems more effective to prove that India is a nation, and has made up her mind as a nation to dislike the alien, than to demonstrate India's fitness as a nation to follow the lines of government suggested by the alien.

The Reforms Inquiry Committee has also commented on the apparent inability of the elected members of provincial legislative councils to distinguish the ministers who theoretically represent the strongest party in the council, and whose function it is to carry out in the departments committed to their charge the expressed will of the electorate, from the autocratic Government, a survival of pre-reform days, charged with the administration of the other departments and responsible ultimately only to the British Government. The consequence of this failure to discriminate is a lack of support for all constructive measures of the ministers. Identified with a Government which all elected members have hitherto felt it their duty to criticise and oppose, they have realised fully and bitterly the troubles of an autocratic

Government faced by a very vocal and irresponsible opposition, but unlike that Government have been unable, in the absence of party or funds, to accomplish anything. This position, which has been lamentably clear to all permanent heads of departments who have tried to induce their Ministers to make up their minds, can hardly be attributed to an absence of political "feeling" or to the educational training of provincial legislators. It is true that some of those legislators are almost illiterate and many but poorly educated. But even those, not a few, who have assimilated the political ideas of the West, find the same difficulty in understanding the real nature of dyarchic government that thoughtful and earnest churchmen experience in approaching the Athanasian conception of the Trinity. The churchman's difficulty does not necessarily prevent him from trying to lead a Christian life. But political devotion to a minister is a hard task for the member who, with the best will in the world, has failed to distinguish the Governor who acts deferentially through the ministers from the Governor who fulminates irresponsibly through an autocratic council. The essential unity of the dyarchic government was a mystical reality to its originators. To their beneficiaries in India to-day such unity is a very hard and angular fact. Experience has made them political unitarians. Ministers who defend or abstain from attacking the autocratic half of the Government are indistinguishable from it. Financially they are bound by it. In legislation they are subject to its criticism. The Siamese twins of 1920 differ from the many-headed monster of pre-reform days only in being more timid and far more elusive. When Mr. Jorkins is blamed a reference to Mr. Spenlow is always possible. If the extremist considers the times unsuited to the development of parties and party programmes, the moderate is to be excused for suspecting that a really strong party, if it ever came into existence, would be merely an extra tower of defence to the autocratic citadel that still dominates India.

In neither case is any incapacity to understand the situation, or any failure of education to confer political dexterity, revealed.

From the chambers of the central Government of India come rumours of effectively organised parties and courtly viceregal tributes to the successful assimilation of Parliamentary ideas and traditions.[1] Even the Swarajist has in fact shown that under certain conditions racial characteristics are unable to check, and education has succeeded in developing, an aptitude for obstruction and opposition on strictly western lines. Those of us who are not actually or potentially in authority at Simla are permitted to suggest that party discipline is not so manifest when the work on hand is constructive and not obstructive. We may doubt whether membership of the Legislative Assembly involves in the full sense of the term cöoperation. And we may wonder how responsible government is going to emerge from a game of political ninepins in which the same set of men is condemned to play for ever the part of the skittles. But the course of events at Delhi and Simla does suggest that in a world not haunted by the mocking spirit of dyarchy, where political parties with cohesive force and a taste for compromise are able to put an effective screw, financially and otherwise, on a singularly assailable Government, the genius for such party work is by no means lacking in the educated community of India. Given a Saint Sebastian the arrows and the guiding hand are ready.

Finally it is urged by some that the attitude of the intelligentsia towards the military and defence problems of India argues a mind ill-equipped for the political duties of a state organised on western lines and an educational training that has ignored such vital points. India is no longer isolated. But her relations to Afghanistan and Bolshevist Russia and problems of the North-West frontier do not vitally interest her politicians. The military budget is scrutinised solely with reference to what it takes from

schemes of a politically more attractive nature and without regard for national security and defence. The difficulties that confront the upholders of an Indian army controlled and officered by Indians are not fairly faced.

That there is some justification for this reproach is admitted by Professor Rushbrook Williams, a keen and experienced local observer, in his recent annual reports on the progress of India.[1] That it is becoming slowly but steadily less justifiable year by year is also clear from his accounts of work and debates in the central Legislative Assembly. Interest in foreign and frontier problems is growing, and, while the need for zealous economic scrutiny of the military budget has been effectively maintained, there has been no definitely irresponsible or ill-informed attempt to bring it below the level required by foreign relations and consideration of security. That India cannot for many years to come hope to provide enough trained officers for her own army is admitted by most but attributed, not without some justification, by all to the stubborn refusal of the Government up till recent times to consider the training of such officers and the granting to them of King's commissions. The proposed Indianisation of eight units of the Indian Army, the admission of Indian cadets to Sandhurst, and the preliminary training of such cadets at Dehra Dun have attracted keen interest. It is a commonplace of the vernacular press, even in the peaceable provinces of the South, that India's reproach among the nations must be removed and that the Government's efforts in this direction must meet with a generous response. The same spirit is manifest in the University training corps that form part of the Indian territorial scheme. It is not claimed that such corps are at present effective or in all cases at full strength. But they represent a real desire on the part of young India to accept the military responsibilities of independence.[2]

For this growth of interest in questions of self-defence and national security, the great war, which brought India

so dramatically into touch with a suspicious and aggressive world, is mainly responsible. But great credit is due undoubtedly to the educational authorities who, in the latter stages at least of the conflict, spared no pains to impress on the rising generation stimulating ideas of what was being done and what should be done by all self-respecting nations of the world. Weekly bulletins, lantern lectures, touring cinematographs, and periodicals that were often cleverly written and appropriately illustrated showed the school and college world the work that was being undertaken by Indian troops all over the world, the contribution that India was making to the feeding and equipment of Imperial armies, and the shortcomings that must yet be made good before India was fully organised for establishing, by force if necessary, her place among the nations of the world. The place won by India's efforts among the nationalities represented on the League of Nations was recognised by students and not merely emphasised in lectures.

It was in fact a time of opportunities eagerly awaited by schoolmasters and professors too long restrained by a nervous Government. There had been times not long before when inspectors and directors had been warned by police officials or harassed heads of districts of " sinister " organisations for physical training and drill, more zealously and effectively carried out than the sanctioned departmental exercises, and " worth watching " as having perhaps a " political " or " quasi-military " significance. It is hard to blame for this officials responsible for law and order at a time when, in one province at least, students were undoubtedly being trained for " political " dacoity and anarchic violence.[1] What was more justly assailable was the system which brought higher education into unhealthy contact with the official world and converted schoolmasters into secret (and remarkably ineffective) agents of the police. Had schoolmasters been left entirely to their own devices, with the conviction that they would suffer in person with their

schools for any offence against society traced to their doors, they would have been more respected by and more useful to the community. As it was, with schools and colleges regarded sometimes as the buttresses of a tottering Government and sometimes as the nursery of anarchists, the atmosphere was such that any reference to the potential military greatness of India or any insistence on the training of Indians with a view to ensuring the military or naval self-sufficiency of their country would have been regarded with real suspicion. The war and the reforms movement that followed changed completely the atmosphere and established conditions under which colleges and schools not only could but did encourage a real and practical interest in subjects appropriate to citizens of a state with modern and western responsibilities.

No discussion of Indian education in relation to politics would be complete without a reference to the deliberate attempt of political leaders in India to enlist in their ranks the student population. This is a big subject, but the fact that we are discussing the influence of education on the political world rather than the influence of politics on education enables us to restrict its range. What must be emphasised are those features of student life and character, so far as it was influenced by education, which attracted the attention of politicians, exposed the students rather mercilessly to political influence, and ultimately made them for the most part singularly ineffective instruments of the politician's will.

It must not be supposed that all political leaders were equally anxious to draw the student world into the political arena. There were a few, mainly among the moderates, who would gladly have left them out of account; there were more who thought justifiably that students should not be kept in glass cases but should for their own good be interested practically in political questions. Their aims, though not perhaps their methods, were substantially those

of the educational authorities from 1918 onwards. But there were many who without reference to educational values definitely regarded the student world as a political asset and tried to exploit the student for political purposes. It is with these, and the material that school and college provided for such as these, that we have to deal.

On the other hand, we are not here concerned with the use made of the student, particularly in Bengal, by revolutionary and anarchical gangs for purposes of violence. Much harm has been done by applying the term "political" to such gangs and their work. How far our education has provided a suitable field for their activities will be discussed in a later chapter.

The efforts which we have now to consider range from encouraging the attendance of schoolboys and students at political meetings to enrolling them as "volunteers" in the great game of political agitation and drawing them away from "satanic" institutions to "national" schools and colleges of avowedly political intent.

For their milder efforts a specious educational plea was ready to hand. Education must be vital and practical, in touch with all sides of life, not least the political side; if we were honest in our desire to train up good citizens we could not reject that insight into the political life of a nation afforded by public meetings and political campaigns. In Curzonian times this plea was autocratically and effectively met by the statement that politics was entirely outside the sphere of adolescent education. Good citizenship could best be learned from Lee Warner's "Citizen of India,"[1] in which all the blessings of British rule in India were systematically exposed and the Platonic conception of justice, *τὸ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ πράττειν*, was complacently unfolded.

It was more difficult to provide an answer from 1918 onwards, when officials and quasi-officials were entrusted with the great work of dispelling political apathy and swelling the ranks of the politically minded. A radical change in

secretariat phraseology imposed on schoolmasters and professors the herculean task not only of explaining the mystic significance of Dyarchy but of distinguishing evolution from revolution and explaining at what stage a determination to achieve Dominion status passes into Bolshevist tendencies. In debating societies, school papers, and periods devoted in the time-tables to " current events," masters and pupils began to think politically and furiously, masters began to express, not perhaps the results of their meditations, but what they thought inspectors would like the results to be, and pupils began to wonder whether perhaps there were other aspects of the problem which could be discussed with less reserve and more zest outside the scholastic area.

When the claims of political education had been once admitted it was not easy, particularly for a bureaucracy that hates to give offence, to insist that it should be confined to the school and lecture room. If it was pointed out that only one point of view, that of a permanent and captious opposition, was emphasised in public and political meetings, the retort was ready to hand that in the schools also there was but one point of view, that of an equally permanent and bigoted autocracy. Here again the effects of an officialised system of education were painfully manifest. " Academic freedom " is a phrase that carries but little weight in India. Few students are prepared to believe that a reasoned and explanatory defence of Government policy is the outcome of a lecturer's matured conviction. It is too often, and as a rule wrongly, ascribed to sordid motives and at the best to gratitude to benefactors. Those who maintained the right of access to public meetings had no difficulty in representing political instruction in schools as an insidious attack on " progressives " planned by timorous die-hards.

Few educationalists were in fact relucant to let " the other side " have a hearing. But what they feared, and with justice, was the racial hatred and morbid Chauvinism which inspired most of the speeches that students were

called to hear and the papers that they were asked to read. Equally did they fear the effect of fervid oratory in large and heated assemblies swayed by violent and wholly irrational emotion. They knew too well the potent effect of such conditions on "blown youth blasted with ecstasy"; examination results showed the intellectual damage, medical examination the extent of the strain on the nervous system, and the eager response to the call for "volunteers" and students to fill for the most part imaginary "national" colleges revealed the success of the politicians in converting sentimental dreamers and materialistic aspirants for government service into practical fanatics prepared for very real self-sacrifice.

Had our Indian system produced students like the average product of English public school and University, this struggle between educationalists and politicians would have been inconceivable. One cannot imagine the headmaster of Eton or Provost of King's imploring Mr. Ramsay Macdonald to "spare the students" or pleading that a "fair" statement of Labour Party aims is guaranteed in their institutions. The aims of schoolmaster and politician in India would be defeated in England by a sense of humour and a life too pleasant and too full of activity to leave time for supporting or attacking a political party. Any irritation caused by aggressive political propaganda in the classroom finds a vent in "ragging," and the emotion caused by a political meeting works itself out in much the same way as the exhilaration due to a bump supper.

But there are no bump suppers in Indian Universities. They would give rise to too many "civil actions". Ragging in and outside the classroom is unknown. A student who is slapped too hard on the back threatens the principal who fails to punish the offender with "a question in the Legislative Council". If a professor's window is broken the action is inspired by no exuberant vitality but by the possibility of the professor's head being somewhere near it.

The student's sense of humour, which exists in spite of popular opinion to the contrary, is very different from that of English youth and does not prevent him from taking himself and others in deadly earnest, or from giving full play to the sentiment and emotion with which he is always surcharged.

To a readiness to become " passion's slave " he adds a capacity for hero-worship which is unparalleled. He would adore a successful and self-sacrificing schoolmaster if he did not suspect his enthusiasm as "bought". Give him outside the semi-official world of school a powerful personality with oratorical genius and a reputation for self-sacrifice tested by imprisonment or fine, and he will gladly place his head under the great man's feet.

Above all the student claims a measure of spiritual excitement, some glimpse of a world of movement and colour, to enlighten the world of his activities which is too often drab and grey. Those who wish without a voyage to India to realise the hard and gritty side of Indian student life in " academic centres " will find it vividly portrayed in some lucid pages of the Calcutta University Commission report and the admirable but tragic " Siri Ram, Revolutionist," of Mr. Edmund Candler. It is perhaps better eventually for him that his spiritual yearnings should find some satisfaction in the real though misguided activity of " volunteer " work and political agitation than that his tendency to dreams and ineffective sentiment should be intensified by the cinematograph, which is an alternative mode of escape from a sadly limited world. Activity in some form or other, a sense of reality, work to which the whole personality can respond, is essential to his ultimate salvation.

With this spiritual unrest is associated a feeling of vague dissatisfaction left by a system of education which the student is accustomed to hear condemned as out of touch with the economic and spiritual needs of India. To the system he attributes unjustly many of the defects in

his training which are ultimately due to circumstances beyond the educationalists' control and to India's social and economic past and present condition. What he realises is the unpleasant fact that he is being swept along a channel that leads the more fortunate only to government service, condemned by patriots as soul-killing servitude, and the less fortunate to a few overstocked professions. Where there is no vision the people perish. And the vision inspired by our schools and colleges is not yet so apocalyptic and enthralling as the dream world of politicians.

It must not be supposed that educationalists have been unconscious of the task to which the nature and life of the Indian student call them. For many years past annual and quinquennial reports have been illuminated by most cheering records of attempts to enrich school and college life. A bright and cheerful hostel life is rapidly being developed, playing fields have been opened up and used, museums expanded and lantern-slide collections formed and circulated. The boy scout movement has appealed irresistibly not only to the smaller boys but to students past and present who are being trained as scoutmasters. Interest in every kind of movement for the social amelioration of the masses and the economic welfare of India has been aroused by lecturers engaged in such work, and here and there small bodies of students are devoting leisure hours to teaching in night schools or other kinds of philanthropic and formative work. These reports are confirmed by much that impartial observers have noted in institutions where a staff full of vigorous personality has been allowed ample funds and free scope for the realisation of their ideas. Though it is doubtful whether a system of higher education so closely identified with the official world, and with necessarily limited opportunities for religious sanctions, will ever make a completely successful and comprehensive appeal to the whole personality of the student, it may fairly be said that within this system a constructive programme calculated to guard

the student against unscrupulous or thoughtless politicians and to provide him with an alternative mode of training for political life has been put into operation. For its furtherance nothing is required but a vastly increased expenditure and masters and lecturers whose human sympathy and understanding of the students' outlook rise superior to official or secularist associations.

That the politician's assault on the students has for the time being failed must to a large extent be attributed to the influence of such school and college authorities and to the vigour of college life that they have been able to organise and inspire. For many months during the height of the non-co-operation campaign in 1921-22 many institutions were almost bereft of students, and literally thousands of seekers after knowledge and reality were patiently awaiting the "national" institutions that had been promised them and occupying their leisure in "volunteer" work. In one province 47,000 students or pupils, 23 per cent. of the total number, disappeared between July 1920 and July 1921. It is significant that on the whole those institutions suffered least in which the personal contact of staff with students had been most intimate and college life most vigorously organised. But equally significant is the fact that the call to leave such institutions was felt as keenly by the brightest and most useful students as by the lazy and the disillusioned.[1]

For the last two years (1923-24) there has been little serious trouble. The attitude of the student world of late has suggested temporary disillusionment, resentment at the specious but unfulfilled promises of the apostles of national education, and determination, inspired largely by economic pressure, to abide within the narrow world of examinations and post hunting. Such an attitude is far from healthy and offers no security against a further wave of attack. More comforting is the clear determination of educationalists to forward those schemes which have for their aim the furnishing of a "spiritual home" for their students that

will arrest and challenge their attention and leave on them the impression that they are being trained to play their part in the political, social and economic resurrection of India. In such schemes they can now, perhaps, count on the support of " moderate " politicians, taught by the last few years' experience the danger of playing with educational fire.

The support of the more thoughtful extremists could also be obtained if they were not haunted by the suspicion that the main aim of institutions controlled, directly or indirectly, by a Government that is still essentially bureaucratic must be the repairing of breaches in the citadel of autocracy and the diversion of the intelligentsia from dreams of political independence. Nothing can be more fatal than the connexion of a comprehensive educational system with one special school of political thought. And it has not yet been shown how a connexion, however slight, with the bureaucratic world can avoid leaving this impression.

How successful the cutting of the official cable would be on the religious side has been suggested in the first part of this book and will be reaffirmed in a later chapter. It is enough here to point out that politics without a religious basis is in India as unreal and, for the country as a whole, as ineffective as any other line of activity. Political unity and reality in India depend on the extent to which the road to independence becomes a pilgrim's progress.

We may be accused by some of under-estimating in this survey the educational and political significance of the "moderates," undoubtedly a characteristic product of western learning. These men have toiled conscientiously as ministers, or their supporters, in the first reformed provincial governments, and even now, while their position is being undermined in provincial councils by the Swarajists, display the fruits of their education in the chambers of the central Government and in the manifestos of the National Liberal Federation. Their remarkable assimilation

of western ideas and evolutionary principles, and their determination to adapt them to Indian conditions, testify to their very genuine and intelligent love of English literature and history. In the political world they represent a large body of educated Indians who, in the opinion of a shrewd observer,[1] yield to no Europeans in their sense of literary and intellectual values, in sound judgment and humour, in simplicity and straightforwardness of language. A system which has produced a Ghokhale, a Paranjpe, a Srinivasa Sastri or, in his later years, a Surendranath Bannerjee has politically and educationally small cause for shame.[2]

The achievements of such men in social intercourse between East and West, and in social and economic reform, entitle them to be regarded as leaders in a non-political and essentially westernised India. The "Servants of India Society," founded and inspired by Ghokhale, has shown what organisation, permeated by a desire for social action based on sound information, can accomplish.[3] Its spirit has inspired several similar institutions. But the political effect of such men and institutions is now but slight and likely to become slighter. Their zeal for progress on essentially western lines makes them impatient with the obstructive elements in the religions of India and her most characteristic social institutions. In their comparative freedom from prejudice they offer to the many who are smarting under a sense of supposed inferiority a vision that is colourless and unattractive. Standing for evolution rather than revolution, they are out of touch with patriots who appreciate only the materialistic results of science and have never been taught its methods or their significance. By no means lacking in personality, they are without the characteristics that India asks of political leaders to-day, boldness that fears not even ridicule, hatred of caution and compromise, a blunt directness that can pass for saintliness and a blind belief in the greatness of Indian life and character.

Sturdy independence is not a common product of our

colleges. No one is more sensitive to opinion and more ready to follow the majority than the student. This timidity is overcome when love of country passes into hatred of foreigner or when religion approaches fanaticism. But the intellectual convictions and natural endowment of the moderates prevent them from acquiring through such extravagance the boldness which our education has failed to develop.

Conscious of these defects, and anxious to avert the charge of timidity and want of patriotism brought against them by the extremists, the moderates have allowed themselves to be hustled into a position that is hardly distinguishable from that of the extremists but is less impregnable because they have not chosen it for themselves. The racial feeling which underlies their frequent attacks on the services, and their apparent readiness to leave the track of natural evolution and to advance *per saltum*, fail to carry conviction, because they suggest a purely temporary and political device and because they are inconsistent with the passion for orderly and constitutional development on British lines that is really fundamental to the moderate. There seems at present little chance of their leading India into ways of pleasantness and paths of peace. But in conjunction with the Swarajists they may have a moderating influence on the councils and strategy of its leaders. The utmost that can politically be expected of what is the most highly westernised product of our educational policy, the harvest that would most have gladdened the heart of the original sowers, is the introduction of a spirit of sweet reasonableness into a region which is otherwise likely to be but a " darkling plain where ignorant armies clash by night ".

A summary of the educational contribution to the political world of India must begin with a reminder that India is at present organised politically as an army for the assault of a citadel, without any definite plans for the reconstruction of the citadel when captured. Our education

has effectively trained leaders for this aggressive work and given them a small but select staff. Western learning has encouraged the growth of nationalism and a determination to prove that India can work out her political destiny for herself on lines free from western blemishes and adapted to oriental conditions. It has also developed a knowledge of the methods appropriate to political agitation, and of the British character in relation to such agitation, that will leave a permanent mark on the British Empire.

It would not be safe to predict a dearth of architects and masons for reconstruction of the citadel when captured. The swarm of bees now roused to aggression by the smoke and din of the intruding West may yet increase the world's supply of sweetness and light. The situation as interpreted by the Indian politician does not as yet call for an exhibition of these qualities. But the methods and aims pursued in our schools and colleges are calculated, if carried far enough, to produce them. Progress so far has not been sufficient to triumph over impeding racial characteristics. Such characteristics, though they must be modified before cohesive and constructive work is attempted, will be less obstructive if, as is quite possible, the attempt to follow the political lead of the West is abandoned.

Political education, within a limited area, has been far more effective than social, cultural, or economic training, because it has met a need of which India has for many years been conscious. The "inferiority complex" which has troubled India since the '80's of last century found, first of all, political expression in the Congress movement. From soil impregnated by racial and political ideas and in an atmosphere created by the great war has grown, within the last few years only, a conception of India's cultural and material needs and possibilities. Politics have had a long start, and in response to a very real demand our institutions have produced not merely capable administrators but men capable of creating, understanding and handling a political

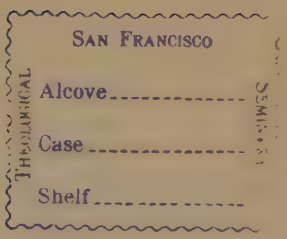
situation. A type of leader has emerged competent to mould and use public opinion. Of the " philosopher king " there are no signs, and Mr. Gandhi has not proved that the saint without loss of sanctity can become a politician. But the professional politician, with a " flair " for public life and the art of " getting on," has been produced by a type of education which, with apologies to its critics, has really been vocational, in a restricted sense, rather than cultural, and resembles in some ways what the sophists of Plato's time professed. It is to our credit that, if we have taught politicians to make the weaker cause appear the stronger, we have also implanted the rudiments of citizenship which may restrict the evil that Plato ascribed to the sophists.

The political training of the masses has hardly begun. In times of economic distress they are clay in the hands of astute politicians, and at other times they are stubborn rock. A population that is mainly, and as regards its women almost wholly, illiterate cannot provide an electorate in the western sense. No politician has yet faced resolutely the financial sacrifice that the establishment of literacy would involve. But possibly the change in outlook and attitude that education alone can bring may not be an essential condition of the polity that India left to herself will devise.

The strife between educationalists and politicians for the student's soul has brought school and college into closer touch with India's needs and aspirations. But an abiding peace seems improbable until a type of higher education less exposed to suspicion, and freed from the web of official life, has been evolved.

The extent to which education has removed caste and communal barriers and thereby facilitated political advance forms a subject which must be deferred till we come to deal with social and religious problems.[1] It is enough to suggest here that, while the discussion of constructive political questions reveals too often the gulf that separates town from country, class from mass, caste from caste, and religion from

religion, schemes of defence and defiance against a common foe have often united all. It is saddening to reflect that the Province in which higher education is most advanced is also that in which inter-caste feeling has created two highly organised political parties.[1] The problem for the politician is to find the constructive equivalent of racial hatred and caste jealousy. Such a task a cynic would leave cheerfully to his worst enemy. But those who know best our schools and colleges will expect at least some educational contribution to the enterprise.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CHAPTER XII

EDUCATION AND MATERIAL PROGRESS

Limitations of educational responsibility—India's industrial and commercial position in world—Effects of great war—Further advance on western lines inevitable—Unrest, how far economic—Need for new outlook and organisation for wealth production—General and vocational education in relation to this need—*Mass education* defective—*High schools* essentially utilitarian—But pre-vocational aptitude not widely developed—Owing to predominant claims of English—Its professional and educational importance—Additional difficulties of examination and finance—Failure of vocational courses—School leaving certificate system—*Universities*—Their economic responsibility—Governing bodies associated with economic life—Development of science and economics—Students and industrial careers—Preoccupation with racial and political questions—*Specialised education*—Importance of Lord Curzon—Government initiative and industrial enterprise—Accepted principles—Universities and technical training—Apprentice system and factory schools—Failure of craft and artisan schools—Inadequate supply of skilled labour—Reasons and remedies—Higher grade training more successful—Particularly commercial training—Cöoperation with mercantile community—Agricultural training—Apathy of landholders—Improved courses and publicity work of agricultural departments—*Technological* work—Impeded by poverty of India—Achievements—Functions of Central Government—State technical scholarships and results—Summary—A word of caution.

THE schoolmaster plays an important part in the army that fights for the economic salvation of a country. But he cannot direct its operations and will bring disaster if he is held responsible for its strategy and tactics. It is enough if, with an intelligent understanding of the forces that animate the campaign, he devotes his energies to the recruiting field and to the invigoration and training of such officers and men as the stage of the campaign requires.

If these necessary restrictions had been borne in mind, recent criticism of our educational contribution to the material welfare of India would have been kinder and more

intelligent. But the present demand for "universal vocational training," a technical school in every village and a Charlottenburg in every town, ill-informed though it is and arising too often out of a desire to embarrass the Government, inspires some hope and deserves examination in so far as it is based on a recognition of three outstanding facts.

India, largely owing to circumstances beyond the control of her peoples, is now recognised as one of the foremost industrial countries of the world, and, for good or evil, is involved in the economic system that comprises the highly organised States of the west and, in the east, Japan. At the same time it is economic distress that is largely, though not entirely, responsible for the unrest which is causing such grave concern to her statesmen. And thirdly, there are certain characteristics of her peoples, arising out of her history and interwoven with her traditions, which are a serious obstacle to economic advance and must be radically transformed before the position she holds can be consolidated, and before the economic evils exploited by agitators can be mitigated.

To these three facts must be added a fourth, the essential poverty of India, which is always remembered by critics of the results of our administration of India, but is usually forgotten when methods for its improvements are under consideration.[1] It is poverty that keeps a nation materially poor, unless it possesses the faith, grit, and enterprise that enable it to regard expenditure on education and development of industrial life as an investment from which a steady income may be expected in later years, and that braces it up to the sacrifice and hard work that such investment must at the start involve. Heavy expenditure on technical education and industrial experiments is to be expected only in countries such as Germany, which have reached a high level of industrial organisation and prosperity, or in a country such as Japan, where climate, geographical conditions, and national history have brought home to minds naturally

alert and enterprising the urgent need for self-sacrifice and unremitting toil.

Indian politicians have made us so familiar with the poverty of India and England's failure to remove it that a recent reference by the Indian High Commissioner for India in England to India's industrial advance came as a surprise to many.[1] As one who had represented India at seven international labour conferences, he reminded his audience that India was recognised by the League of Nations as one of the eight chief industrial nations of the world, and that the volume of its exports and imports gave India a place among the six foremost commercial nations of the world. India's potential wealth, if we consider her man-power and natural resources, is immeasurable. Her actual achievements strike the eye, not only in the factory chimneys and mercantile quarters of Bombay, but in the fair and smiling fields of the Punjab irrigation colonies, where a shrewd and expert observer tells us that agricultural methods and results compare favourably with those found anywhere in the south and east of Europe.[2] The war, by throwing India on her own resources and simultaneously extending her foreign market, added substantially to the advantages conferred by nature and a paternal Government, intensified the efforts of that Government, and counteracted to some extent the check to individual and private enterprise that such a Government always involves.

It is true that, while all this has been taking place, large masses of the population, left in abysmal ignorance and living in a world centuries behind that which the preceding facts suggest, have been an obstacle to every stage of advance. India, as a whole, is not organised for the production of material wealth. National characteristics and the social system encourage the preservation of traditional ideas rather than the concentration of energy on raising the material standard of living. But the fact that in India the twentieth and first centuries are jostling one another

must not blind us to the probability that the twentieth century, in so far as it links up a very small but energetic section of India with a very large and pushing world outside India, will eventually triumph over the first century, represented as it is by masses that are by nature apathetic and waiting to be pushed rather than truculently determined to oppose. When Mr. Gandhi, or men such as the late Mr. C. R. Dass, thunder anathemas against western industrialism, they are expressing in a wonderfully powerful way the racial hatred for which mistakes on the cultural side of our education have been partially responsible. And they might perhaps, if they could direct their attention to economic studies and observation, help India to avoid some of the evils that western capitalism, through lack of experience or perhaps defective spiritual background, has had to live through. The history of all movements, such as the Swadeshi industrial and commercial movement or the more recent Charka development, which represent an attempt to employ economic forces for racial, political, or spiritual purposes,[1] shows that India, so far as it is economically organised, is ready to make capital out of racial hatred, in which it participates, out of the political zeal to which it contributes as a reasonable form of insurance, and out of the religious enthusiasm by which some economic communities, for instance the Marwaris, are genuinely stirred. But economic India has not yet seen, and is not likely to see, any material advantages to be gained from giving up as a whole, with all its advantages as well as its evils, western aims and western methods or of reverting economically to a pre-British India. On the cultural side we have unconsciously developed a strong Orientalism. Economically we have led India further on the western track than some of those who know the West most intimately can contemplate with composure. But it is too late to go back.

That much of the Indian unrest is due to lack of remunerative employment for the educated middle classes and to the

pressure on the land of the uneducated masses is a truth so widely recognised that a mere reference to it, without supporting arguments, suffices in introducing the subject of this chapter. There is, perhaps, a tendency to exaggerate the economic side of the unrest, which has been as powerful and disturbing in the most prosperous tracts of the Punjab as in the most distressed portions of the Deccan. The thriving Marwaris are not the staunchest supporters of British rule. And if every graduate found a remunerative post awaiting him as he left college he would still be subject to strong racial feeling, cultural antipathy, and political ambition. It would, however, be true and more pertinent to our subject to say that, while economic distress accentuates troubles due to other than purely economic circumstances, the removal of such distress by direct Government activity or any purely external agency will be merely temporary, and, even during the period of temporary relief, an incentive to unrest rather than a suspension of it. Economically, as well as politically, it is what we get for ourselves, not what is given to us, that brings permanent content. The only gift that we can, without damage to India, pour upon her in abundance is the new outlook on life, the will-power that organisation for the production of wealth demands. A fairy godmother, with such a gift in such a land, would not only sweep away economic distress but would also provide a profitable channel for all the activity that is at present wasted in the sands of racial and political agitation.

This conclusion may seem inconsistent with the opening statement of this chapter that the schoolmaster's responsibility for the material advance of a community is strictly limited. For where is the required attitude and will-power to be developed but in the schools and colleges of India? But such a question presupposes an unlimited supply of will-power and energy at the disposal of the schoolmaster from which he distributes to his pupils according to their need. It is forgotten that not even the best of pedagogues

can be simultaneously an inspired and expert industrialist, merchant, and financier. He cannot through his own personality be a living example of what can be achieved by such men for the welfare of India. In education personality is everything, and the personality that counts is that which is inspired by the same spirit that moves an influential, though perhaps small, section of the community whose agent the schoolmaster is. He puts into his school what is best and most vitalising in the life of the community. It is useless for him to emphasise what is part neither of his own experience nor of the experience of the nation. Teaching, unless it is supported by conviction, born of experience and exemplified in action, is sterile. The school is a channel not a fountain head. It accumulates electric energy, of which the source is mysterious and hard to trace but certainly external.

If general education, which has so important a part to play in the development of suitable characteristics, is thus limited by external conditions, the subordinate position of all specialised forms of education is yet more conspicuous. The kind and amount of special skill to be imported must be determined by the industrial condition of the country, and can modify that condition only to the extent of supplying skilled labour and supervision where practical and professional experience demands it. Though this restriction sounds obvious, it has been frequently ignored by enthusiasts in India, who have acted on the assumption that an industry can be created by training men to practise it. District councils have diverted funds sorely needed for good elementary schools, that will provide an enlightened attitude towards industrial problems, to "technical" schools for instruction in weaving, as a subsidiary cottage industry that has no chance of surviving the competition with the western and capitalised weaving industry.

But we must first consider what general education, subject to the restrictions and conditions suggested above, can accomplish and has accomplished in the development of

general aptitude for industrial or commercial work and of a correct attitude towards it. In platform talk on this subject we find widespread forgetfulness of the facts that the proper aim of general education is not " vocational," and that vocational training not preceded by a course of general education, directed towards the strengthening of will-power and the building up of an intelligent conception of national and local life, is always inadequate and often futile. In actual fact our high schools and colleges suffer, not for want of vocational training, but from their concentration on training of a definitely vocational but very limited type. Essentially practical and utilitarian, they have aimed at the production of government officials, lawyers, doctors, and commercial clerks and, within this narrow range, they have succeeded remarkably well. Where they have failed, almost completely, is on the cultural side. They have trained their students to earn a living in occupations congenial to their traditions and antecedents and increased in number and attractiveness by British administration. But they have not taught them to enjoy their life, to enter with minds steeped in the culture of their home and caste into a joyful heritage. They have also failed partially to develop what may be called a " pre-vocational " aptitude, a spirit of enterprise, a fitness to undertake and readiness to consider training for other occupations not so closely associated with their traditions. Their failure on the cultural side will be considered elsewhere. In their partial success on the pre-vocational side we must now try to assign all the credit that, with reference to the very real obstacles, is due.

There are many critics in India who, while admitting the cultural and pre-vocational claims of high schools and colleges, urge that the students can and must also, " without prejudice," be taught a trade or industry. They are apt to forget that a boy of good ability can complete his high school education by the age of sixteen, that the total school course up to the completion of that stage is only nine or

ten years, that an abnormal amount of time must necessarily be set apart for instruction, mainly of a vocational kind, in English, and that the number of hours in the working day and the amount of energy at the disposal of teacher and taught is limited. It is generally admitted now in European countries that all specialised training must be based on a solid foundation of general education, the minimum age limit for the beginning of special training being fixed at fifteen or sixteen.[1] If in such countries efforts are sometimes made to teach trades side by side with "general" subjects, it is because climatic conditions and the absence of the bilingual problem ensure a larger supply of time and energy. In India we may be sure that the cultural and pre-vocational value of a subject in a high school is impaired by attempts to convert it into training for a livelihood. From another point of view, the Bombay merchant would far rather bring as a clerk into his office a student with a sound knowledge of English, taught without reference to commercial needs, with a mind that has assimilated useful knowledge of the surrounding world and a will steadied and strengthened by ordinary school discipline, than a student whose acquisition of skill in shorthand, typing, commercial correspondence, indexing and filing has left him no time for such general training. The Indian critic and parent have reached a stage where they demand everything and are in danger of getting nothing. Drawing and manual training are deprecated by our critics unless they fit boys at once to earn their living as carpenters. Where "optional alternatives" are allowed it is not unusual to find a student grappling simultaneously with agriculture and shorthand, partly perhaps because they are "soft" examination subjects, but mainly because his parent wants him equipped for all contingencies.

From these devastating ideas and ideals it is a relief to turn to what is actually being done by high schools and Universities in the discharge of their economic responsibility.

What is being accomplished in schools for the masses can, unfortunately, be summarised in a very few words. The comparatively small number of effective schools, attached for the most part to schools of higher grade or incorporated in Christian mission educational schemes, are attended mainly by castes or classes that proceed to a higher stage; their work will be included in the general survey of the results of those higher stages. But the work of the real elementary school, intended for those whose general education does not extend beyond the fourth or fifth year and who, by tradition and circumstance, depend entirely on the school for mental training and information, is so limited in quantity and miserably poor in quality that it has as yet produced no real effect on the economic life of India. The excellent work done in a few factory schools, such as those of the Buckingham Mills, Madras, deserves special mention, but is exceptional.[1] Till the problem of India's illiteracy has been more practically faced it is useless to expect in the masses any widespread substantial change of industrial outlook. More probably is being done in this direction by non-educational or semi-educational agencies, such as the co-operative credit societies, social service organisations, and industrial, agricultural, and forest departments of Government, than by the whole staff of elementary school teachers. But the adoption of a more sympathetic and intelligent attitude towards the nation-building work of these departments, ability to read and understand their pamphlets and appreciate their demonstrations, and a general disposition to hearty and useful cöoperation depend mainly on the evolution of compulsory and efficient education. There is much, besides, of economic value that the effective teacher could achieve, such as the art of cleaner and healthier living, appreciation of the need for more intensive and intelligent cultivation of thickly populated areas, realisation of the appalling economic results of the superstitious veneration of the cow and of the superiority of productive expenditure on

new methods and implements over hoarding or non-productive expenditure on marriages. All this, which is strictly within the sphere of general education and the scope of a properly trained elementary teacher, is at present, for reasons to be set forth in our later chapter on mass education, unattainable.

Examination of high school curricula in various parts of India assures us of the inclusion of subjects which, if properly treated, would develop a pre-vocational aptitude. And we shall find if we visit these schools not a few teachers capable of handling these subjects intelligently. Considerable attention is paid to them in the training schools and colleges, on which the expenditure grows steadily year by year. In quantity and quality this work varies, of course, greatly; it is sadly deficient in schools which have been controlled by the University of Calcutta. But, speaking generally, we find much that is encouraging in the time and energy devoted to history and geography, in so far as they bear on industrial and commercial development, as well as to practical mathematics and elementary civics. Outside Bengal elementary science has for some years been receiving special attention, and the expenditure on laboratories and science apparatus in provinces such as the Central Provinces, United Provinces, and Madras, would surprise those who, without inquiry, condemn our exclusively " literary " education. Drawing is taught everywhere and in most courses is, at some stage or other, compulsory. Courses of manual training and institutions for the supply of expert instructors are firmly established in several provinces. With elementary science is included often a practical course of nature study, and the knowledge thereby gained is applied sometimes in school gardens.

But there is, unfortunately, much in the special circumstances of Indian schools that tends to reduce the influence of these subjects on the rising generation. It is true that the conflict between the humanities and science, between

culture and utility, which vexes secondary education in so many lands, is significantly and deplorably absent in India. Culture and the humanities have been elbowed out. The course is sternly practical. It is not general culture but the study of the English language that reduces so lamentably the time and energy available for work calculated to affect the material condition of India.

Let it not be supposed that this intensive study of English has any immediate cultural aim or value. Many English readers have cried and laughed by turns over clever accounts of Indian schoolboys trying to capture, with "keys" and commentaries, the spirit of the "Ode to the Nightingale". The cultural aim was no doubt deliberately emphasised by Macaulay. But, in fact, it is hardly in evidence save in the most advanced stages of specialised University courses in English. Rarely does one meet among the educated official class any keen or intelligent reader of English literature. The present tendency, in lower stages, is to concentrate attention on the vocational and utilitarian side of English. For reasons completely beyond the control of the educationalist it is necessary to give the high school boy such knowledge of English as will enable him to follow University instruction and professional and technical courses through that medium. Or, if his education ceases with the high school course, he must be able to hold his own in English conversation and correspondence. The Indian world for the secondary school product, not well equipped in English, is to-day angular, uncomfortable, and disappointing. Owing partly to the time devoted to the subject, partly to real improvement in the methods of linguistic teaching, and partly to the vigour with which every schoolboy attacks the subject, the matriculate's mastery of English, despite all the ridicule unjustly bestowed on Babu English, is far more complete and practical than that shown by the normally intelligent and industrious English boy at the same stage in any of the languages, ancient or modern,

to which he has devoted special attention. It has not affected his outlook on life as the classics or French may have affected the English boy. And the English of educated India may become as different, in pronunciation and idiom, from that of educated England as the language of the United States has become. But the mastery of it is politically and economically, if not spiritually, a real and valuable asset.

Unfortunately, the price paid for this asset is heavy, being nothing less than comparative neglect of other subjects of really equal, though to the Indian mind subordinate, pre-vocational importance. It is immaterial in this connexion whether those subjects be studied through the medium of English or the vernacular. If it is the former the rate of progress in each hour is correspondingly reduced; if the latter, more can, perhaps, be accomplished in the hour, but the number of hours must be reduced to allow more time for English, which, under the other system, is studied, not only in "English" hours, but also through the employment of English as a medium.

An additional obstacle to progress in pre-vocational subjects other than English is to be found in the unadaptability of most such subjects to examination purposes. The qualities of mind and will which intelligent teaching of elementary science or geography or nature study seeks to develop cannot be tested by examinations held on the scale that Indian school conditions demand. Searching inspection may detect bad teaching but cannot single out the slovenly scholar with the accuracy that would justifiably affect examination results or a certificate. The castes and classes that frequent our schools are prone to linguistic studies which have an obvious bread-winning significance, are necessarily based largely on powers of memory, and can be tested by searching examinations. In all other subjects, to which they have no natural or economic inclination, they attend only to those comparatively unimportant parts which can be memorised and reproduced in written examination. And

if, as has been tried in some provinces, such subjects are not tested by written examination, and school results only are recorded in the certificate, even the most conscientious headmasters are unable to guarantee any real attention to them.

The financial difficulty has also been felt. It is particularly unfortunate for India that linguistic studies, to which it is naturally inclined, are cheaper than other equally important pre-vocational subjects, such as science with all its apparatus and to a lesser extent geography and nature study, from which they shrink. This is, however, a difficulty which an enlightened public opinion is gradually overcoming. Large sums for laboratories have been almost cheerfully voted by reformed councils bent on "a more practical" education.

The zeal for vocational training has found local expression in attempts to provide alternative school courses, intended respectively for those who are proceeding to University studies and for those who proceed from school to wage-earning or to further education of a specialised nature. Attractive superficially, such a procedure is educationally unsound in so far as it presupposes a need for an essentially "literary," or linguistic, course for academic purposes and an essentially realistic and practical course for all other purposes. Success in such an undertaking would leave Universities more out of touch with national life than they are at present, and would culturally impoverish all professional and industrial life not based on University training. All division of general education prior to the age of sixteen or seventeen is radically absurd. Fortunately, failure of the scheme has been complete, though the reasons for its failing to secure support were by no means educational. Distinction of courses, if it is to be real, must involve the exclusion from Universities of those who have taken the non-academic course. No Indian parent will take the risk of such exclusion. The social glamour and economic importance of the degree are decisive. If the distinction is

made less heart-rending and all courses lead up to the University while some prepare also for other courses, the parent still insists on those courses which are best adapted to academic success. All that has emerged from this search for alternatives has been the addition to a compulsory school course, comprising subjects essential to secondary education, of a wide range of optional subjects which students are supposed to select for their bearing on their future career but actually adopt, not without detriment at times to essential subjects, with reference to the percentage of passes. All this vocational juggling with school curricula is demoralising. It is time that educationalists listened more attentively to business men than to politicians. The cry of employers of labour is always the same; a few subjects and those studied thoroughly, an orderly mind, regular habits, clear expression in a legible hand and the will to work.

The substitution of a school leaving certificate examination, conducted by boards on which schools, professions, industries, and commerce are represented as well as Universities, for the University matriculation examination which at one time dominated our schools was heralded as a prelude to the closer adaptation of schools to industrial and commercial needs. The chief benefit bestowed so far is a more scientific and careful type of examination and attention to sides of school life, as revealed by school records, that had been outside the ken of Universities. For reasons elaborated above it has not radically altered school curricula, and the standard is still determined largely by University requirements. But the system's effect on the economic life of India has been to this extent sound, that the certificate, accepted not only by Government for government service but also by professions and special institutions for entry to work or technical courses, suggests to its holders other possibilities than progress to the ordinary B.A. degree. And as the general idea of the system is to make the certi-

ficate a record rather than a mark of attainment of any arbitrary standard, it encourages boys to complete their course, thereby checking the waste which failure to complete any course involves, and gives them at the close not only a reward but a stimulant to professional or industrial training. The further proposal of the Calcutta University Commission to take the lower stages of University work out of the University's control and entrust it to the same Board that controls the school certificate had for one of its aims a similar intention. In one province and in one area of another province, it has already found acceptance.

In University policy, to some extent as a result of the Calcutta University Commission but also in response to a quickened national feeling and the new outlook created by the war, there has been very practical recognition of academic responsibility for the material advance of India. The stress laid by the Calcutta University Commission on the need for a governing body representing all active and progressive classes of the community and capable of determining the general course of a University with reference to economic needs has had, outside the range of Calcutta, a very marked influence. Lord Curzon's Commission of 1902 had transferred control from an unwieldy and amorphous Senate to a more workmanlike body composed essentially of academic representatives and government nominees. By broadening the basis and confining purely academic bodies to purely academic work, University life in many provinces has been brought into touch with factory and office.

Though courses for the pass degree are affected by the same forces that rob the school courses of cultural value and lessen their pre-vocational usefulness, the operation of these forces is far less effective and detrimental. The time devoted to the purely utilitarian study of English is not so disproportionate, and examinations on a smaller scale and with more facilities for testing intelligence and practical ability stimulate a more intelligent type of teaching and

preparation. But the specialisation encouraged by the development of Honours and post-graduate courses is vocationally even more important. For such courses expert professors, some of European reputation, have been added to the staff of Universities and Colleges and their work has been supplemented and vitalised by lecturers invited for short periods from England and elsewhere. Small classes, close tutorial supervision, and well-equipped seminaries and laboratories are beginning to yield a real harvest of students with scientific or economic equipment for valuable work in large industrial concerns or the industrial departments of Government.

There has been a marked increase in the number of science students, and the special courses in Indian economics have also been attractive. The board of economic research, which is now doing useful work in the Punjab in the investigation of difficulties arising out of small holdings and allied problems, is an example of the potential influence of such courses on national life.[1] General interest in the financial world is being quickened, the possibilities, good and evil, of capitalism are being explored and ex-students with small sums at their disposal are beginning to search for industrial openings of a humble description in which they may be invested. The writer can remember the surprise caused at the opening of the century by a Madrasi student who dedicated his small capital and the ability developed by college training to the establishment of a small printing and publishing business and resisted the attractions of a "safe" government post. It can at least be claimed to-day that such a case is no longer quite exceptional or the cause of such consternation among relations and friends. Similar interest in industrial life, and appreciation of the bearing of science on economical problems, are undoubtedly arising out of the movement that has founded the Royal Institute of Science in Bombay and has ensured enlightened public support for other such costly and ambitious institutions.

There is much, of course, to be set against this progress. " Safety first " is still the most powerful watchword among students, and the reaction, inevitable to a type of mind naturally sentimental and idealist, is usually political or religious rather than economic. The student who resists the drag of " safe professions " and resolves to see what individual enterprise can accomplish in the industrial or commercial world is guided, perhaps, by material consideration rather than by spiritual reaction. Perhaps the world of business is content to dispense with the generous and exuberant enthusiasm that marks the political world. But certainly it needs more of that spirit of dogged determination which helps the Japanese or western youth of " business instincts " to begin right at the bottom of the ladder and to make his way by a capacity for taking pains. We have reached a stage in India when dreams of political leadership or membership of council sometimes give place in the student world to dreams of generalship in the world of finance or industry. But our colleges have not yet developed a readiness to go steadily through all the ranks of the industrial army. A graduate will accept a humble clerk's post in government service. But if " Safety first " is to be abandoned the reward for such boldness must be immediate and emphatic.

Consequently there is, as yet, no marked reduction in the number of applicants for government service. And courses qualifying for the legal profession are more crowded and numerous than ever. It is deeply to be deplored that some of the more recent Universities, founded in a spirit of real enthusiasm for a quickened national life, have been driven by a desire for larger fee income into instituting, against their better judgment, law courses and colleges. Students are thereby drawn from productive enterprise into a profession that, within limits, is necessary in a modern State but that always involves, when its ranks are overcrowded, a vast amount of unproductive expenditure and a

form of gambling that appeals irresistibly to the Indian mind. The continued attractiveness of the profession is due partly to the immense prizes that await the favoured few, and partly to the glamour of a political career for which a legal training is still held to be excellent preparation.

But a general survey of the aims and methods, courses and equipment, of schools and colleges suggests a real determination in those responsible for general education to give students a bent for industrial and commercial life and to fit them for the special training, whether in special institutions or in factory or office, which such life demands.

Of that wholly new outlook on national life, that new attitude towards the world which in the economic advance of a nation is as important as the development of individual aptitude, there are at present few signs in the public utterances of the intelligentsia. And those who testify to them in the press or on the platform are not impelled by their zeal to spread the good news among the masses. That more of the profits from the natural resources and manpower of India must go to the Indian and less to the western capitalist is recognised by politicians. That the industrial world holds prizes as valuable as the legal and bureaucratic world is beginning to be understood in home and college circles. But that the organisation of India as a whole for the production of wealth requires concentration of energy and development of enterprise, a temporary sacrifice of other interests and a diversion of activity from essentially political aims, is realised only in a few business and academic circles. These are, unfortunately, not vocal, though academic opinion may become more so if schemes for extension work and adult education of the masses are matured. For the present that part of India which makes itself heard is engaged so wholeheartedly in opposing an "alien" Government that it has no leisure or inclination for teaching the masses the bearing of taxation on economic advance, for explaining that Indian poverty is removable only by

careful industrial investment of every rupee that thrift can save and hard work produce, for attacking superstition and ignorance in its citadels as the main cause of obsolete and wasteful methods of production. Politically and racially it is convenient to blackguard a Government that dares not excite popular discontent by a levy for compulsory education. Economically it would be more effective to proclaim throughout the countryside the wealth-producing possibilities of such education, and thereby to induce a more favourable attitude towards taxation for such a purpose. Politically, it is clever to attack a Government for its "extravagance" in importing western experts to improve agricultural and industrial methods. Economically, it would be sounder to show the people how to turn to their advantage the work of such experts.

It is in the end preoccupation with political and racial questions that prevents educated India from making her full contribution to the economic advance of India. What is being taught in our schools and colleges is not inconsistent with such advance and can gradually be intensified. But it will not be fully effective so long as circumstances outside the school make the primrose path of political agitation not only more pleasant but apparently more profitable than the steep and thorny way of industrial progress. Small profits are balanced by quick returns!

Technical and other kinds of specialised education, which we must now consider, received very little attention up to the beginning of this century. In the more restful nineteenth century it was not the fashion to regard education as the cure for all ills. The economic responsibilities of Government were not prominent, and, even if the need for a larger and more varied field of employment had been acutely felt, the theory that technical education could open up such a field would have been deservedly ridiculed. Schools and colleges turned out the officials and politicians that the times seemed to demand. A real need for trained

subordinates in the public works departments and railways encouraged the steady development of engineering schools and colleges. Medical training advanced in response to a similar need, and litigation, the favourite pursuit of all classes, filled the Law Colleges.

In this, as in other fields of education, Lord Curzon made himself felt. But he realised that education could play only a comparatively humble part in the industrial development for which he saw the need so clearly. From 1900 begins that long series of inquiries and reports by officials, commissions, and committees, which has brought all phases of the many-sided industrial problem into light. The need for government initiative and enterprise has been realised. Departments of commerce and industry have been created, the experimental work of forest and agricultural departments developed, an amazingly efficient system of co-operative credit under official patronage and supervision elaborated, communications by railroad and water improved. Despite a temporary check on the development of state industries imposed by Lord Morley in accordance with the Manchester school of thought, the benefits of state enterprise and initiative have been proved by successful pioneer work in such industries as tanning, leather, glass, and sandalwood (Mysore). It has usually been possible to hand over such industries as have passed the experimental stage to private enterprise. Out of nearly 16,000 industrial establishments enumerated at the last census (1921) nearly 700 were controlled by the Government.

The general results of such activity on the part of Government, most inadequately summarised above, have certainly been beneficial. Not only has industrial life been quickened and expanded; there is a substantial increase in the number of Indian directors, directing managers, and business concerns, small and great, financed by Indians. The general impression created by numerous reports on the results of this activity is reassuring. But they emphasise also the

grave risk arising out of prosperity which depends mainly on an active and benevolent Government and is not accompanied by a corresponding rise in the general level of intelligence and will-power. In the Punjab river colonies, for instance, such prosperity has not reduced the great burden of indebtedness which has from time immemorial oppressed and impeded the agriculturist. The co-operative credit societies have facilitated credit for agricultural improvement. But easy credit among unenlightened people has its own danger. The societies cannot emphasise and avert such dangers without far more help from the schools than they receive at present. Their reports expose systematically those characteristics of the peoples of India which will impede all efforts for their material advance till general education has been improved and extended.[1] It is on general rather than special education that stress is laid by expert inquirers.

What experts have rightly demanded, and what has to a large measure been secured in all forms of special education, has been the preservation of close touch with the actual work and workers in the world which they are intended to help. Schools must be established when and where the leaders of the industries concerned require them. They must be controlled by bodies on which the industries are represented. Technical details must be left finally to experts. All this has been, as a general rule, accepted. As to whether such institutions in the lower grades should be controlled and inspected by the education department or the technical department, industrial or agricultural, as the case may be, there has been much interesting but not very conclusive discussion. The question of immediate control ought, perhaps, to be determined by the amount and quality of expert advice at the disposal of the respective departments and by the pressure of other work. What is more important, as has been pointed out in the Calcutta University Commission Report, is the formation in every province of a directing

educational staff, representing experts and educationalists, to determine the bearing of the various forms of education on the system as a whole and their relative claim on funds and attention.[1]

A similar question of far-reaching importance has arisen regarding the correct relation of Universities to the higher forms of industrial and commercial training. That a University should comprehend such kinds of education is urged by those who hold that the general atmosphere of University life and policy is invigorated and refreshed if it is brought into living contact with such problems. It is argued also that the University hall-mark on such courses will increase their value in the public estimation. On the other hand there are grave risks. University tradition may give too literary a turn to the courses. Industrial needs may be left out of sight in the racial, political, and communal storms that too often agitate academic circles. Practical ability may be subordinated to those qualities that written examinations associated with Universities demand. At present the question remains generally unsettled. There is, perhaps, a growing feeling that less danger is to be apprehended from Universities, controlled by such bodies as the Calcutta University Commission advised, than from government departments subjected to the present type of provincial Legislative Councils. It is not long since the legislators of a province followed up a resolution calling for further industrial activity by a bitter attack on an agricultural college principal who had compelled his high-caste students to handle carts containing manure.

The same anxiety to keep in touch with the experience of the industrial world is shown in the encouragement given to apprentice training in railway workshops and factories and to the training courses provided in the government ordnance factories. The excellent scheme of general and special education provided by the model Buckingham and Carnatic mills in Madras has attracted wide attention and

earned encouragement and support. While it would be wrong to claim that such training in the heart of industrial undertakings conducted on business principles is necessarily superior in all ways to work in essentially educational institutions, where time and money are more readily available for experiment and instructive failure, the fact that the apprentice system is thriving and growing assures us that the education authorities are in close and healthy contact with reality.

In special as in general education the results are more encouraging in the higher grades. Craft schools for the artisan classes, aiming at nothing but manual dexterity, and agricultural schools of elementary grade have been, as a rule, costly and disappointing failures. Departments that have opened or taken them over have been glad to close or pass them on. Agricultural experts have pronounced definitely against such schools. If they are to exist, their relation to the ordinary elementary school will have to be determined more clearly. There is a growing and very healthy feeling that at this stage a sound general education is the urgent need. Many of the essential qualities that special training vainly aims at now would, by a sound system of general education, be called into being.

The industrial leaders of India complain of an inadequate supply of efficient labour. This inadequacy affects the output of such industries as mines and cotton mills, where a certain amount of skill is required in labour of all grades. But in the lowest grades the required skill is acquired effectively through experience by those who bring to their work the necessary qualities of energy and intelligence; it demands no previous course of special training. The chief obstacles to efficient labour in non-agricultural industries arise from its intermittent character. The industrial population of towns and mining areas consists largely of immigrants from villages, driven by economic pressure from the countryside and always anxious and often ready to return there

when it is economically possible. There is no class corresponding to the miners or cotton operatives of England, inured and trained by the tradition and experience of many generations to the hardships and exigencies of industrial life. Such difficulties remind us that 90 per cent. of the population of India remain essentially rural. It is only the large industrial centres that grow in population at the expense of the villages. And even here rural associations are maintained. Constant give and take between town and country checks the development of industrial tradition and skill. Here is something, clearly, that even sound and widespread education cannot, and perhaps ought not, to try to remedy.

Another class of obstacles, affecting agricultural no less than other industries, is connected with racial characteristics, which education can modify, though climatic and physiological conditions must make the process slow. Early and prolific marriage, and a natural indisposition to a greater expenditure of mental and manual energy than immediate needs and insistent supervision demand, affect the quantity and quality of work. Though some areas and classes are conscious of a desire for a higher standard of living, there is no recognition that the raising of that standard in a thickly populated country innocent of birth-control depends entirely on a growing intensity and intelligence of work. And the general apathy towards the education of women involves ignorant carelessness regarding the industrial functions of more than half the population. Among some classes work that is radically inappropriate is imposed. Among others the economic possibilities of women, for instance in subsidiary industries that impose no severe physical tax, are wholly ignored.

Passing from unskilled and the lower grades of skilled labour to the higher grades of such labour and the ranks of foremen and supervisors, we find considerable progress on the lines that have been generally indicated above. Apart

from the courses in factories and workshops much sound instruction is being given in such educational centres as the great technical institutes in Bombay, Lucknow, and Lahore. The stimulus given to industrial life by the motor car is shown by the enumeration of over 42,000 professional motor drivers in India.[1] For the training of such men in the understanding of the car and the carrying out of small repairs provision has been made through special classes or organised apprentice work in many parts of India.

In the world of commerce most significant and encouraging progress has been effected by the close co-operation of the educational and mercantile communities. Commercial schools and courses, some under University patronage, have grown in size and number. The five years that ended in 1922 doubled the number of commercial students, bringing it to a total of over 7500, or five times the strength of ten years ago, and trebled the expenditure. It is true that in Calcutta, where there is no lack of employment for men with sound education who are ready to begin at the bottom, commercial schools have failed to attract students, and the mercantile community, with a shrewd insight into the educational chaos of Bengal, view with apathy or suspicion academic and official proposals for their development. But the remarkable advance of the Sydenham College of Commerce in Bombay shows what a keen and progressive mercantile community in union with University and educational experts can achieve. In 1922 there were 250 students and 500 applicants for admission. A wisely appointed course of a broad nature with real cultural and economic value has inspired the confidence of employers. There is an advisory board of business men. No student with a satisfactory degree fails to secure employment with an initial salary that compares favourably with that of government service and an attractive future. The Allahabad University course of two years for a commercial diploma is also reported to be popular and effective. From Bengal, on the other hand,

comes the wail that government service is still a far more valuable asset in the matrimonial market than a commercial appointment.

For want of space we must pass over activities of Government in its engineering and forestry departments that result in a need for various new classes of trained subordinates and provision for their training. We must even ignore an interesting experiment by the Bombay School of Arts in the training of architects. For we have still to deal with the training of men, corresponding to the foremen and supervisors of town industries, for the agricultural profession. And the census reminds us that agriculture supports 70 per cent. of the population of India.

It is disappointing to turn from this percentage to the total number of agricultural college and school students as revealed by the quinquennial report of 1922. The total of 967 students, if compared with the 7500 commercial students representing professions that support less than 7 per cent. of the population, is unpleasantly significant. And very many out of this small total are being trained for posts in the agricultural department. India is, of course, a land of small holdings. The vast mass of illiterate or miserably educated landholders and tenants cultivating patches varying in extent from one to eight acres cannot be expected to appreciate the benefits of specialised instruction. The spread of general education may lead them gradually to a greater appreciation of the demonstration farms, lecturers, and bulletins of the agricultural department and the educational and financial efforts of the cöoperative credit societies. But the number of landholders with estates that would justify the employment of highly trained agents and sufficient capital to use the methods and equipment that they advise, though relatively small, is large enough to make one expect a great increase in the number of agricultural students, when school and college education has made such landholders realise the value of more intensive

and skilled cultivation. At present the class as a whole is apathetic towards the colleges, though their political representatives criticise the facilities as inadequate. The interest of the Oudh landholders in the Cawnpore College is noted as exceptional.

For this apathy there was more excuse in the early days when such colleges were organised on too literary a basis, without expert advice or reference to local needs. It was Lord Curzon again who brought in expert advisers and inaugurated experimental and observation work in the agricultural department that has reacted most favourably on the colleges. Defects that still exist are discussed in frequent and illuminating conferences between agriculturists and educationalists. But further progress in popularity depends mainly on an extension through general education of the recognition of the practical value of scientific work. It is this same weakness of public opinion that has checked the development of agricultural middle schools for small landholders' sons, who have completed the elementary school course, and of similar high schools for those who have passed the middle standard of general education. Of these efforts we shall have more to say in dealing with mass education. Here we need merely emphasise the impracticability of drawing agricultural pupils at various stages from a general course, for which profession and tradition render them unfit, to appropriate special courses till public opinion has been enlightened.

It must not be thought, however, that in the absence of such support expenditure on these colleges is wasted. They are sending out the kind of subordinate that the agricultural department needs for its experimental and demonstration farms, its lecture and pamphlet work. Slowly but very steadily through demonstration farms landholders are being convinced, by the evidence of their eyes, of the value of scientific methods. Much that is at present being effected laboriously and expensively by such work will be unnecessary

when the right type of rural education is made compulsory. Meanwhile, though the village school assists but little the demonstration farm, the farm is doing something to create a demand for a more effective school, a readiness to pay for it and a recognition that money paid by the taxpayer to finance agricultural advance is a profitable investment.

The third and highest form of specialised training is that which has for its aim the application of scientific research to industrial development and the equipment of industrial, commercial, and financial pioneers for the development on a large scale of new or expansion of existing industries. The need for such men is recognised, not only in great and growing industries such as leather or steel, cotton or jute, but also in the specialised government departments of industry, agriculture, or forestry, that depend on, and are expected to contribute, expert advice.

The inferiority of India to such countries as Germany or the U.S.A. in this technological sphere is usually attributed by politicians to the Government's desire to reserve the highly-paid expert posts for Europeans. Actually it is, of course, due to the poverty and ignorance of India. The administration of India must be maintained at a cost far less than that of progressive western lands till public opinion has been educated to appreciate the advantages of a more costly administration. Industrial development depends on industrial research. But industrial research in a land that does not believe in educational investment must be paid for largely from the proceeds of industrial development. Nothing but more and better general education can provide an escape from this vicious circle.

Meanwhile something is being done by industrial leaders The wise generosity of the Tata firms has been shown by several schemes of endowment and specially by the Tata Institute of Research in Bangalore, for no fault of its benefactors not, up till recent times, very successful,[1] and the

metallurgical Institute at Jamshedpur, the centre of the steel industry.

It is recognised that official activity, within the imposed financial limits, should so far as possible be directed and, ultimately, controlled by the central Government of India. In so costly an affair overlapping must be avoided and the needs of India as a whole rather than of individual provinces must be considered. In the important industrial centre of Cawnpore an institute for research in leather, oils, and textile treatment has been founded. Ambitious proposals for a school of mines in the mining area of Bihar have been completed, but their execution has for long been delayed for financial reasons. At Pusa, in Bihar, a carefully selected body of experts has for some years been engaged in agricultural experiment and research, and has influenced through such work the higher grades of instruction in agricultural colleges and the experimental work of provincial agricultural departments. Post-graduate courses, controlled by the Pusa staff, have recently been opened at Bangalore for candidates for the higher grades of the agricultural services.

The practical interest of the Government of India in the production of experts has also been shown in very heavy expenditure on scholarships for advanced courses of technical training in Great Britain or foreign countries. Despite most careful instructions, that perplexed and distressed the provincial committees appointed to recommend candidates for these scholarships, the actual results of this expenditure, as revealed by special reports and statistics, have been disappointing. It has been difficult to select men with the necessary experience and previous training, the right physique and character, and the capital or certainty of employment which would enable them to turn to account what the West had taught. There has also been great uncertainty regarding the industries, capable of development in India, for which western training was indispensable. And there have

been difficulties in the way of securing admission of scholarship holders to the right type of training course in western lands. Figures obtained after thirteen years of this system showed that out of 113 scholarship holders only 31 were engaged in non-official industrial work in India and 18 in government industrial work. Many could not be traced, 4 were unemployed, 1 had become a barrister, and 1 was engaged in "literary work".[1] It was felt that money was being wasted, and the demand for training facilities in India was intensified. Unfortunately and unwisely, with the transfer of education to provincial governments in 1920, the grant of such scholarships was left to provincial discretion. Since then, figures for all India have not been available, but there is reason to fear that in some provinces money is still being spent thus without any surety of adequate return.

What has been written in this chapter has been intended to convey the impression that the educational authorities during the current century have been conscious of their responsibility for assistance in the economic progress of India, and have tried, not without success, to adapt their policy to its demands. In the higher grades of education their aim and methods up to 1900 had been too vocational. For reasons partially beyond their control they contented themselves with imparting the information and moulding the character required for government service and a very limited range of "literary" or quasi-literary professions. Since the time of Lord Curzon they have aimed at a "pre-vocational" aptitude for a far wider range of work and have succeeded partially in diverting attention to commercial and industrial pursuits. They have not succeeded in establishing special "vocational" courses as an integral part of the high school course. Reasons for this failure have been given, and it has been suggested that such courses, even if they could be popularised, would be inconsistent with the true purpose of secondary education. In the elementary

grades, the bearing of mass education on economic advance has been of late fully realised, but progress in such education has been barely perceptible.

In the field of special education the demands of those primarily and practically interested in the supply of skilled labour and service have met with a response, the effectiveness of which has depended mainly on the intimacy of the relations between educationalists and industrialists. Healthy co-operation is becoming yearly more manifest.

A warning on the danger of exaggerating the claims of " vocational education " is justified by the adoption of this phrase as a watchword in political references to education, and will serve as a prelude to our next chapter.

In his progress towards the Celestial City, Christian was embarrassed by the attentions of Mr. Hold-the-world, Mr. Money-love, and Mr. Save-all, who had been schoolfellows under the mastership of Mr. Gripe-man, in the market-town of Love-gain in the county of Coveting. Those who openly blame us for our failure to assist India in her progress to the Celestial City are not, perhaps, so numerous or vocal as those who set India's material poverty to our account. But they include a Gandhi and a Rabindranath Tagore, they represent a large body of voiceless and vaguely formulated opinion, and they have far more truth on their side than the other critics. We have not meant to be " satanic," but our actual results in a hostile atmosphere are easily confounded with those of Mr. Gripe-man. It is unfortunate that we have so little on the spiritual and cultural side to balance against our political and material achievements. Though it would be absurd to ignore the spiritual possibilities of a political and economic awakening, or to deny that the spiritual or cultural interests of one's country can be served and must to some extent be served by efforts for her economic salvation, it is undeniable that what we have given India on the cultural side has been but little, and that little of such a kind that it has not spiritually leavened her

material advancement. We are gradually teaching India to raise her standard of material living. We have succeeded in teaching her to claim her due and, perhaps, more than her due from ourselves and other nations. But we have hardly begun to teach her how to live happily by the fullest and finest use of her cultural genius and traditions, and by their adaptation to the service of the world. Culturally, we have succeeded, by indiscreet projection of an alien culture, in awakening a fierce but unintelligent reaction. Until we have helped India to realise, in an atmosphere free from racial hatred, what she is able to give to the world, we shall be accused, not unjustly, of having taught her only what she can get out of it. And getting without giving is not the secret of happiness.

It is our political and material success in arousing the acquisitive instincts that has exposed India to the appalling dangers, as well as the advantages, of western industrialism. Mr. Gandhi's efforts to reject economically the West come far too late, but arouse sympathy. The only way in which educationalists can co-operate with him, where he deserves such co-operation, is by attaching far more importance to the cultural side of education, and by refusing to admit "vocational" claims, where they are inconsistent with a correct scheme of values.

"I have heard," said Christian, "of this Silver-mine before. The treasure is a snare to those that seek it, for it hindereth them in their Pilgrimage." Then Christian called to Demas (who was the great-grandson of Gehazi) saying, "Is not the place dangerous?" "Not very dangerous," said Demas, "except to those that are careless." But withal, he blushed as he spake. Hopeful, who urged Christian at least to go and see, met with a stern rebuke. But his rôle is, perhaps, to-day, all that is left to us in India.

CHAPTER XIII

EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Milner and India's position in Commonwealth of nations—Community of culture and spiritual outlook—East and West—Examples of antipathy—Traditions and ideals divide more than race or language—Oriental scheme of values hardly touched by our education—Our threefold contribution—Influence on Indian literature—Cultural significance of Ghokhale and Tilak—Oriental reaction: political, sentimental, irrational—Difficulties of fusion—Tagore and his teaching—Zeal and intelligent love of eastern culture wanted—Not arrangement of time-tables—Indian classics ignored—Predominance of English and lack of Oriental exports—Eastern lore politically and morally suspect—Academic efforts for Oriental learning—Reasons for unpopularity—Defective staff—Improvement of vernacular literature and languages—Press and politics—Universities and national culture—Reforms secure time, funds, and opportunity—Increase in number of Universities—Importance of personality—And academic freedom—And dissociation from Government—Importance of women's education—The strife of religions in India—Effect of critical and systematic study of religions and culture—Summary.

We are now approaching what is undoubtedly the most difficult task of the schoolmaster in India. Those only who recognise its difficulty appreciate fully its bearing on the happiness of India, and on India's relations to the British empire and the western world.

A French observer, quoted by Lord Milner in his political creed which was given to the world after his death, points out that in the Commonwealth of nations which has grown out of the British empire there is no longer any idea of English hegemony.[1] The Commonwealth stands for English fraternity. And the educated Englishman, agreeing with this Frenchman, will admit that while English hegemony still prevails in certain dependencies committed to us by mandate, or left in our charge with the tacit consent of

the civilised world, the rest of the empire remains British, owing, partly, to common material interests, but mainly to community of ideas and sentiment. The imperialism of the late Victorian age has vanished.

Our imperial difficulties and responsibility are greatest in those parts of the empire which, like India, are emerging from the status of dependencies to that of self-governing Dominions. And these difficulties, manifest as they are in the field of politics and economics, assume gigantic proportions when we approach the vaguer and more perplexing sphere of general culture and civilisation. Though India is not yet fully organised and equipped for the political functions of a self-governing Dominion, and though her final mode of political expression may differ greatly from that of other Dominions, there seems to exist, if our general summary in Chapter XI is correct, no absolutely insuperable obstacle to the gradual education of India for such political functions. Economically and industrially the development of India on the lines of western capitalism seems assured, though very slow. Recognition that her economic interests cannot be dissociated from those of the British empire as a whole is being established slowly and painfully but surely.

It is when we take stock of India's moral and spiritual capital, her scheme of absolute values, her social and ethical traditions and ideas, with which her "well-being" in its truest sense is associated, that we realise how essentially different it is from the corresponding world of absolute values which comprehends in a living unity the self-governing Dominions and the Mother country. And it is mainly points of difference in the moral and spiritual plane that are responsible for such antagonism as disturbs the political and economic relations of India to the empire. The attitude of our Colonies towards Indian immigration is not fundamentally based on dislike of men of another race or colour, or fear of political and economic supremacy passing from men of British extraction. It is due essentially, though to some

extent subconsciously, to a feeling that the Indian's scheme of values is not that of the Colonial, and that political or economic supremacy will be used for the establishment of a social and spiritual world, in which what is to the Colonial of vital importance will count for nothing.

Lord Milner, developing the French writer's theme that has been quoted above, reminds us that the Commonwealth of nations is held together by community of race, language, civilisation, traditions, and ideals, and denies the existence of any natural basis for such relationship between India and the Commonwealth. While abstaining from advocating the withdrawal of pledges that he seems to regard as hastily and improvidently given, he proclaims the urgent need for supplying what will take the place of this natural basis. It might be urged in reply that this is what education has been trying to accomplish in India since Bentinck's time. Our work in this chapter is to examine the reasons for a failure which unfortunately it is only too easy to demonstrate. Lord Milner's view that, owing to cultural differences, India as a Dominion of the British empire must remain "an embarrassment and weakness, not satisfying India, and not contributing to the solidarity of the other members," will be shared by those who know most intimately the products of our Indian schools or colleges. It is necessary to add that endorsement of it does not imply inability to see the strong points as well as the defects of both types of culture. It means only a conviction that the two types, though they have reacted on one another, have not yet been fused; their interaction has been so far responsible for antagonism rather than co-operation.

We have to recognise on the one hand a Morley, admitting a "strong distaste for coloured races," asserting himself "an Occidental," inclined to like Mohammedans, but not prepared "to go much farther in an easterly direction,"[1] or a Curzon, able to appreciate the pomp and decorative possibilities of India, but showing in all his words and actions

a conviction of her intellectual and moral inferiority, and inspired by such conviction to lecture the intelligentsia of India openly on the need for "truthfulness".[1] On the other hand we have to face a Gandhi, who, with equal conviction, impeaches a civilisation, which, as represented by the British system in India, "is doing irreparable harm to my country".[2] And those who know him best realise that in such words he was referring, primarily, not to checks, real or supposed, on political aspirations or economic advance, but to "spiritual wickedness," to the damage suffered by the soul of India from association with western civilisation.

We must remember also that neither Morley nor Gandhi was the victim of any blind colour prejudice. In neither case was the attitude towards an alien culture the result of momentary or irrational passion. In each case the intellectual faculty had full play, the whole personality, thought, feeling, and will was absorbed in a world of intellectual concepts, moral ideals and emotional colouring that blurred the vision and emphasised the defects of the alien world.

We have taken Morley intentionally as a type of the most intelligent, broad-minded and progressive Liberal, free from all taint of aggressive and narrow-minded Imperialism. Politically, he found himself able, though with misgivings, to give India such representation in the highest councils as strengthened subsequently her claim to responsible self-government. But culturally he lived in a different world. Most of the Englishmen who have come into direct contact with Indian problems and people have been, perhaps, more akin intellectually to him in breadth of mind and rational control of prejudice than to the die-hards, who darken imperial counsel in the "Morning Post". But, like him, they have continued to feel that they are living in an alien world. Personal contact has often led them to appreciate its artistic merits, and to find in it moral and intellectual

values. Some have even acknowledged its general superiority. But the number of those whose whole personality has been altered, who have been absorbed in a world that is either oriental or a fusion of East and West, could almost literally be counted on the fingers.

Nor must it be supposed that Gandhi represents either a small or extreme class, though he is an extreme expression, the epitome as it were, of his class. He himself has lived in close contact with Englishmen, numbers many among his personal friends, and has co-operated with them in social and military service. Among the educated classes of India, in government service as well as in professional and political ranks, there are thousands who share his mistrust and, we may add, his distorted views of western culture and civilisation, though they have never followed him in his political and economic remedies. Though he himself is politically an extinct volcano, the cultural suspicion and discontent which he represented and fanned into fierce flames is still a very vital and active force.

It was perhaps unnecessary for Lord Milner to emphasise diversity of race and language. The history of the Roman Empire reminds us that such diversity is no necessary bar. It is true that the Roman Empire was untroubled by "nationalism" and that intermarriage within the races of their empire was not only physiologically acceptable but a general practice. But "nationalism" is not necessarily responsible for cultural differences, though it is often a political result. And though intermarriage between East and West is deprecated physiologically, and shows no signs of becoming habitual, its absence does not necessarily involve cultural antipathy. The Parsees in India are racially as distinct from us as the Punjabi Brahmin and have never intermarried with us. But their civilisation is not alien in the sense that the Brahmin's is. As for language, though English will perhaps never become the cultural language of India, as it is most surely becoming the political and economic

language, its prevalence among the intelligentsia will ensure, linguistically, a mutual understanding between East and West, if other conditions are favourable.

But when we pass from race and language to traditions and ideals the sense of antagonism becomes acute. We are dealing here with absolute values, with what is worth doing for its own sake as opposed to what is done for some ulterior object, such as the gaining of power or wealth, position or a livelihood. When we think of what, through our instruction, the Indian can do and must do to gain a livelihood, we imagine him in his government or mercantile office, pleading in the law courts, practising in the hospitals, and even doing in executive council or ministries the work that, for a century, has been reserved to the " Heaven-born " of the Civil Service. Here he is western and one with us. But education, like Aristotle's state, aims not only at enabling men to live, but at helping them to live well, that is happily. If we follow the clerk home from his office, or the agricultural labourer, who has achieved literacy in the village school, home from the plough, and watch his employment of his leisure, his search after happiness in his family or communal life, we shall find the Oriental, not the Occidental. It is not merely a change from professional attire into the loincloth of domestic life. Practically everything is shed that has been acquired at such cost from school and college and contact with the West. Western methods may be employed for intensifying or facilitating the pleasures of the East. But oriental methods are never employed for the attainment of happiness according to western ideas. The western train is used for reaching the place of sacred pilgrimage, and the electric fan for cooling the performer of domestic rites and ceremonies. But when the Maratha lecturer devotes his holiday to the cult of Sivaji, as the incarnation of militant Hinduism, or when the Bengali clerk sacrifices a goat to Kali, who is identified with his beloved motherland, they are not, as some would have us believe,

expressing in oriental ways devotion to the great ideas of nationalism or freedom that western culture has made sacred to them. They are rather giving expression, in accordance with Hindu tradition and ideas, to the Hindu conviction that God is everywhere, and to the spiritual yearning for God that is exemplified in the crudest as well as the most subtle and refined form of Hindu social and religious life. Western literature and history may have led them, smarting from a sense of imputed inferiority and outraged culture, to associate this sacramental worship with political ideals of the West. But what has real and absolute value in their minds is the act of sacramental worship, the satisfaction of a vague but impulsive yearning. It is a reaction against the western world, which has given them no outlet for such emotion. It unites them with the frequenters of village festivals and crowds of ignorant and superstitious pilgrims, with that heart of India which, so mysteriously to western eyes, finds relief and expression in

> The organs of birth and the circlet of bones,
> And the light loves carved on the temple stones.[1]

You may talk with the educated Hindu pleasantly and profitably about his official or professional life, or draw him into intelligent discussion of political or economic problems. But the ordinary European will fail to find out what he really cares for as a man, what essentially gives value to his life as a whole, what constitutes his real self as a son, husband, and father. The professor of English literature will not talk about his personal aud intimate debt to that literature. For it does not intrude into his personal and domestic life. Reproductions of famous pictures of the West convey nothing to him. His true self is absorbed in a world of values that he feels, and perhaps rightly, would be meaningless to the European. To this, and to the fact that he has never studied intelligently and critically this emotional world of his, is due his reluctance or inability to

disclose it to us. Ask any intelligent history graduate for a statement of the principles at issue in England of the seventeenth century, and he will give them to you clearly and correctly. But they mean nothing to him. Ask him for a statement of his caste customs and obligations, or for a reasoned account of the objects and modes of worship in the locality, and he will be silent, or amazingly confused and rambling in his exposition. But such matters are to him, by custom and feeling, part of his being. His silence is due, not to any sense of outraged decency such as pervades the Englishman when religion is mentioned outside church, but partly to a feeling that the Englishman is unable to understand or appreciate his attitude, and partly to the fact that his own ideas and information on such subjects have never been sorted out and systematised.

The Mohammedan community in India is perhaps, by tradition and genius, more accessible to western ideas and ideals than the Hindu world. At no stage in its history has Islam been completely isolated from western civilisation. Contact has often been very close, and western culture found a real home during the dark ages in Islamic strongholds. Lord Morley's separation of the Mohammedan from the unintelligible world of oriental culture is natural, and appreciated by many Englishmen in India. After the Hindu temples of South India the architecture of Agra and Delhi seems to take the European half-way home into a more restful and sympathetic atmosphere. But Islam in India bears the impress of its surroundings. Spiritually and emotionally the Mohammedan student is far closer to the Hindu than to the English student. The uneducated Mohammedan has admitted into his religious life many of the elements of local Hindu worship. And in so far as education brings him into touch with traditions and ideas that are not Indian, it establishes contact with the pan-Islamic world, which is most assuredly not the world of British sentiment and ideas. The illiterate Mohammedan,

except under the influence of clever agitators, is unmoved by the fears and ambitions of Egypt or Morocco. The educated Mohammedan is drawn inevitably into a cosmopolitan world, consolidated by the political and spiritual ideals of Islam and centred in the middle East, rather than into the atmosphere of Burke and Morley, Darwin and Tennyson. The static character of his religion and politics is antagonistic to the conception of evolutionary progress.

We may, perhaps, take credit for a threefold contribution to India's scheme of values. In European sports and games, in Shakespeare and in the life of Christ presented in the English version of the Bible, or vernacular renderings of that version, we have given the educated Indian what has appealed to his whole personality, something that interests him not professionally, nor as a means of livelihood, but as a means of happiness. It is a contribution that forms a very real link between England and India.

The Indians who have attained greatest popularity and fame in England as a whole, are probably Ranjitsingh, as he is still known to the western world, and the Agha Khan. And any Indian team of cricket, tennis, or polo players that comes to England is sure of a reception from which all trace of racial bitterness on both sides is entirely absent. In India the quadrangular tournament of Europeans, Parsees, Mohammedans and Hindus unites not only the players but a very large body of spectators in a comprehensive atmosphere of enjoyment. Bengali students meet, and sometimes defeat, English regimental football teams in a similar atmosphere. The writer, while head of a provincial education department, has succeeded, on the football field alone, in meeting teachers and students in surroundings where official status is forgotten, complaints are left behind, and the desire to please the superior and down the rival is conspicuously absent. The tournaments of town and provincial or district groups provide real and absolute enjoyment, not perhaps essentially western, but certainly not exclusively

oriental. And the swarms of almost naked urchins that hover round the ball in the village school tournaments of Central India suggest a lively and emotional interest that is as different from the apathetic and quasi-western atmosphere of the village school as it is from the fanatical and oriental devotion of the village festival. In a humble and limited range, cricket and football are gradually bringing the Indian colleges closer to Eton, and the villages of India closer to the industrial population of Great Britain.

The same cheering impression is created by a Shakespeare performance given by students or a Bar association, or by the quotations from Shakespeare that embellish a headmaster's report, a pleader's talk or a politician's harangue. It is at times, though by no means always, grotesque. But it is done with a relish, and it suggests the presence of an element that is certainly not oriental, but is capable of assimilation by the East. It is usually the rhetorical and turgid side of the magician that makes the deepest appeal. "Julius Cæsar" and "Othello" are more successfully and enthusiastically undertaken than "As You Like It," or "Much Ado about Nothing". The spirit of comedy as depicted by Meredith is not yet abroad in the land. But the purging force of great tragedy, as it has descended to us from Greece, has been let loose. And perhaps some of the grotesque wildness of the master's humour is more keenly felt in India than in England. It cannot be claimed that it has brought the country-side of Shakespeare's England nearer to the Indian. But it has given Englishman and Indian one more pursuit to enjoy in common. All honour to Shakespeare, even as represented by a betel-chewing Desdemona in a strolling group of Parsee players!

What India owes to the story of Christ and to the spiritual and ethical atmosphere of the New Testament, is more appropriately told by missionaries to whom the credit of introduction is due. Here it is necessary only to refer briefly to the general cultural influence of the Bible on the

intelligentsia, mainly non-Christian, of India. We are not claiming, of course, a western origin for the New Testament, or for the spirit that inspires it. What is significant is that the Book comes to India in the matchless translation that has done so much, by form as well as content, to make the English language a very precious possession of India. And it represents, though many Englishmen and most Indians are unconscious of the fact, the spiritual foundations of our western institutions and civilisation. If there is any book that can culturally unite a Morley and a Gandhi, it is the Bible, and India owes the Bible to the schools and colleges that have grown out of British rule in India. The Bible is, perhaps, the only asset of western culture that has never yet been referred to with a gesture of reproach or hate. There is, of course, an effort to claim it entirely for the East. When the Hindu says that he accepts Christ, but not the Christianity of the West, he inspires in us some sympathy. But what one feels in one's inmost heart most hopefully is that the spirit of Christ, and His spirit only, will eventually remove the cultural antagonism on which all claims to spiritual monopolies are based.

Those who are fortunate enough to have read in the original Bengali, or even in the English translations, the work of Rabindranath Tagore, or who have followed with the helpful guidance of Lord Ronaldshay and other students, such as Mr. Thompson, the advance of modern Bengali literature, will claim with justice this field as one in which there has been fusion of East and West, and a very real contribution by the West to the literary and artistic life of India. This literature certainly has great and distinctive merits. It is significant that it has developed in that province of India where the English language and literature have been studied most enthusiastically. Their influence is undoubted. A similar influence can perhaps be traced in the minor development of modern Tamil literature, and on the religious side a fusion of East and West can be found,

according to Mr. MacNicol, in Marathi Christian literature. We shall try to show below the immense significance of Tagore, but we shall have to suggest that it is at present potential, rather than real. The general subject of western influence on vernacular literature is obviously beyond the range of this book, and cannot be treated until scholars in all the leading vernaculars have provided materials for patient and careful investigation. Meanwhile, one is forced, by the perusal of such work on the subject as has been done, and by casual references in Indian talk and journalism, to infer that Macaulay's expectation of a great vernacular literature built upon western culture is yet far from general realisation. The census authorities of 1921 suggest generally for India a lack of standardised vernacular literature, and an atmosphere of unreality and artificiality, that separates it both from western and Indian culture. The influence of Indian art and letters on western culture has, perhaps, been more profound. But such influence is confined to a limited body of artists and amateurs, inspired by such men as W. B. Yeats, and has not as yet affected generally the relations of the educated European and Indian world.

We have to meet in our cultural quest the same plea that we encountered on the political side. Is not the establishment in India of the great ideas of freedom, democracy, racial self-determination, evolutionary progress, proved by the life's work of such men as Ghokhale and his followers? Have not these ideas cultural as well as political value, and are they not indissolubly connected with western civilisation? It is true that such men have been influential in India, and that they have been inspired essentially by the West. But it is not true that they have at present any strong hold on the attention of educated India, or that they have established a world of ideas and ideals in which the educated mind can expatiate and find happiness. Culturally as well as politically their position has been undermined by Tilak and his followers.[1] Tilak made political capital out of the claims

and attractiveness of an oriental world in vigorous antagonism to the West. The cult of Sivaji and Ganesh followed, and from the Maratha world the enthusiasm for what was "genuinely" Indian passed into Bengal, and found expression in the revival of the cult of Kali in the professional and official as well as legal and political ranks. There is no space here to emphasise in this connexion the significance of Sakti worship and Tantric ritual in Bengal, or the great wave of Sikh revivalism in the Punjab.

Culturally as well as politically the extremists, following the lines laid down by Tilak, have triumphed over the moderate followers of Ghokhale, not because their personality has been more vigorous, or their convictions more cogent, but because they have led uneducated as well as educated India along the paths that nature and tradition have made attractive. Pioneers in the art of national healing, the moderates have prescribed distasteful remedies, requiring a preliminary diet that has been ineffectively followed by the few, and completely ignored by the many. The extremists have given the patient what his constitution has rendered agreeable and easy of assimilation. They have made India realise the motive power in her culture and civilisation, and have intensified the emotional force of that culture by attributing to it the spiritual qualities that inadequate investigation of the western world has failed to reveal. They have suggested, to those whom the pursuit of western aims by western methods has failed to relieve of a sense of inferiority, the practicability of reaching equality and independence by proclaiming the intrinsic superiority of Indian ideals.

If they had developed this work on its educational side, and founded institutions for the sympathetic, but rational and systematic, study of Indian ideas, ideals and institutions, they would have conferred on India a cultural gift of immeasurable value, in addition to leading her substantially forward towards economic and political independence. To

some extent this was the aim of the Arya Samaj and of some, at least, of the educational institutions which it founded. Had its highest aims been realised, a reformed and effective Hinduism might have had a very wide and beneficent influence. But there was a tendency to look "back to the Vedas" instead of forwards. A purely emotional attitude towards the past was substituted for a determined and aggressive attitude towards the future of Hinduism. It was felt, and rightly, that the West must be conquered by weapons borrowed from the West. The English language must be mastered, and western sciences employed. But such instruments must be used destructively for the driving out of alien rulers and civilisation, not constructively for the intelligent study and reformation of their own culture. The rare opportunity of a constructive combination of eastern aims and western methods was missed. The western and rational side of their courses and system was inspired by suspicion and hostility. The eastern side remained essentially emotional and secluded. No healthy contact with the West was established. Western educationalists, inspecting the institutions of the Arya Samaj and similar societies,[1] found in those of them that had come most under western or University influence little that differentiated them from Government or Local Fund institutions. In those that asserted the oriental side, a note of "sloppy and inefficient sentimentality," sometimes stimulated by racial feeling or religious fanaticism, was detected.[2]

It is this failure on the part of the westernised moderate to make himself culturally felt, and on the part of the oriental extremist to make himself culturally progressive and useful, that is emphasised in the warnings of acute Indian observers, such as Miss Cornelia Sorabiji. In a valuable article of recent date [3] she has reminded us that in working essentially or mainly through the "westernised" Hindu we are putting our money on the wrong horse. Socially, philosophically, and politically enlightened, they are

out of touch with the masses of their countrymen, both educated and uneducated. In a land where all procedure and institutions, from birth ceremonies to inheritance after death, are based on religion, they are planning an advance by methods that have no religious sanction or prestige. As pioneers of a new civilisation they can make no headway against a public opinion that is being flattered and confirmed in its static resisting qualities by men who know how to use it to further their ends, but are unwilling, or unable, to educate it. Nothing could have demonstrated more clearly the influence of such men on the intelligentsia than the desertion of our schools and colleges by thousands of students during the non-co-operation crisis. Nothing could have proved their educational impotence more clearly than their failure to provide beforehand, or after the desertion began, any educational institutions on essentially national or oriental lines.

But it will be urged that there remains Rabindranath Tagore, to prove to us by his educational work at Bolpur, and still more, perhaps, by his philosophy, poetry, and novels, the possibility of mutual understanding and a real fusion of eastern and western culture. It is quite true that there is much at Bolpur that justifies this hopefulness, western scholars, working in an oriental atmosphere on oriental lore, and students and staff able to enjoy their leader's lectures on English poetry as well as his Bengali lyrics. The infinite possibilities are even more clearly shown in his writings. But his wonderful novel, " The Home and the World," demonstrates not only the attractive possibility but also the appalling difficulty of such fusion. We find there the limitations imposed on a personality that draws its force from the best of the West and East by an atmosphere of oriental domesticity, by a wife, whose lovable charm is wholly oriental, by " nationalist " friends, inspired by undigested western ideas and unenlightened adoration of their motherland. We can see the strange

mixture of idealism and materialism, shrewd logic and incredible crudity of thought, in the swadeshi movement, and the brutality and cruelty defended in the name of liberty by quotations from the Bhagvad Gita. We see the dominant figure of the shameless, pitiless goddess, Durga, giving visual expression to the ideal of conquest, with the lopped-off heads of goats and buffaloes as the fruits of worship. The impact of western ideas on a sensitive eastern mind is responsible for the words in which the nationalist summarises his memories of Bengal in 1908. " The ashes of lifeless Bengal suddenly spoke up, ' Here I am '. The moment of our history seemed to have dropped into our hand, like a jewel from the crown of some drunken god. It had no resemblance to our past, and so we were led to hope that all our wants and miseries would disappear by the spell of some magic charm. Everything seemed to be saying to us ' It is coming ; it has come '."

Here, indeed, is a jostling of East and West, from which the writer can draw no hopeful conclusion. " Our country has been brought to death's door by sheer fear, from fear of the gods to fear of the police. Now, in the name of freedom, you set up another bogey. If fear, represented in its latest form by Kali, is to regulate what we must eat, how we must dress, where we shall trade, mankind is destroyed at the roots."

In a world such as Tagore describes his voice can have but little force. He himself realises that perfect fusion of East and West can result from no political or economic forces, and from no system, however free from political taint, of education. Symbolising in the relations of the hero to his wife the attitude of an eager and sympathetic western world towards the East, that is only waiting for western help to reveal her full powers and charm, he shows us how the West has failed in its task, and on what lines alone success is possible. " I have tried," says the husband, " to mould my relations with her in a hard, clear-cut, perfect

form. But our life was not meant to be cast in a mould. And if we try to shape the good as so much material, it takes a terrible revenge by losing its own life."

We too, educationally, have tried to mould the relations of eastern and western civilisation in a clear-cut form, animated by a faith in system and time-tables rather than by a real and intelligent love of eastern culture. Discovering at an early date that it was impossible and undesirable to make India completely western, we applied our minds to arithmetical calculations as to the time and money that could be spared for eastern culture, instead of to determined and systematic study of that culture. We have told India that she must not neglect her culture, but, until quite recently, we have not helped her to find in it what is really valuable, nor to remedy what western experience proves to be defective.

Before we emphasise facts and figures that illustrate in the school and University world this negligence, we must draw attention to circumstances that have intensified this radical defect in our educational policy.

We have already referred to the economic and administrative forces that have compelled us to take up for the utilitarian study of English, and to a lesser extent of other quasi-vocational subjects, very much time that in more fortunate countries is available for national culture. Official, professional, and industrial demands have prevented us from teaching India to enjoy intelligently her racial heritage.

Connected with this has been a failure to realise the bearing of the Indian classics, Arabic, Persian, and Sanskrit literature, on the cultural life of India to-day. Though our educational policy was framed and administered by men educated for the most part on a "classical" foundation, they have not, as a rule, been conscious of the value of this foundation, nor realised the extent to which classical studies have helped them to understand western civilisation, or to enjoy rationally and intelligently its art and letters. During

the nineteenth century a type of education was being developed in council schools at home, and in girls' schools, that recognised no such foundation, and with the beginning of this century came a weakening of the foundation in our public schools. But, while in England the qualities once sought from Latin and Greek were still recognised as valuable, and were developed, partially at least, from a more intensive study of the mother tongue, there was in India no standardised vernacular literature that could take the place of the oriental classics. Those of our educationalists in India who were conscious of cultural values deluded themselves into believing, with Macaulay, that English would take the place of the oriental classics, or that a regular allotment of periods to " vernacular language and literature " would have the same cultural value. There has certainly been no attempt, in any type of school or college included in our general educational system, to attach to the oriental classics the same position and importance that was assigned to Latin or Greek in " public schools " of the nineteenth century. Oriental courses have, as we shall show later, received conscientious support, but as highly specialised and distinct features, with antiquarian or philological bearing, rather than as an integral part of a scheme of general culture.

The inclusion of oriental learning as one item in a " miscellaneous " chapter of the official quinquennial reviews of education in India is painfully significant. It must be remembered that for many years the Indian Educational Service, which largely determined courses and time-tables, was exclusively British, and for the remaining years up to 1920, predominantly British. Among the members of this service were a few highly qualified and expert in the oriental classics. But their work was almost entirely scholastic. The administrative and directing agency was controlled by men who, immersed in all the details of their work, had barely time to get colloquial mastery of one or two vernaculars, and no time to gain by study any appreciation of the classics.

The same may be said of those engaged in University work and influential in academic bodies.

It must be remembered, too, that oriental culture, though never wholly ignored, was viewed in the bulk with chilly dislike and genuine suspicion by Ram Mohun Roy and his followers, who were so influential in the earliest stages, as also by very many of the great missionary educationalists led by Alexander Duff. At a later date it had to face the apathy of the westernised school of thought represented by Ghokhale. Efforts by the Government to arouse Universities to a sense of its importance were misrepresented by the extremists, whom it was intended to conciliate, as inspired by a desire to counteract the disquieting and politically exciting effects of western education. And on the other side educational authorities were harassed by a police department that found copies of the Bhagvad Gita in the outfit of anarchists, and constant references to its significance in revolutionary literature.

If we turn to what has been accomplished or is being attempted in the advancement of Indian culture and its fusion with what is best in western thought, we find evidence of real determination on the part of academic and official educationalists to face and overcome the difficulties that have been outlined above. In 1911 the annual conference of Orientalists deplored the little that had been done by Universities to extend classical knowledge. But these Universities, encouraged and assisted, but not solely inspired, by the recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission are now providing, in some cases with marked liberality, for advanced post-graduate and research work in Indian antiquities, philology and philosophy, and in oriental classical literature. Indian sociology, history, and economics are being treated from a broad and cultural point of view by experts, and there are the beginnings of a school of students of Indian anthropology. In Calcutta University some provision had been made even before the Calcutta University

Commission for the study of the Bengali language and literature. In recent years the elaborate and very expensive arrangements for advanced work of all kinds, and particularly "orientalia," have been responsible for keen attacks on the main instigator, the late Sir Ashutosh Mukerji,[1] by many who would have preferred expenditure on less ambitious, and perhaps more urgent, schemes. Sanskrit scholarship is also being advanced in the Bhandarkar research institute at Poona, associated with the name of the great Indian orientalist who died recently, and in the Cama research institute at Bombay. These institutions, though not connected directly with Government or University, are encouraged and assisted by these agencies. There are special oriental faculties in the Universities of the Punjab, Benares, and Rangoon, and theology faculties (for oriental religions) in the Universities of Benares, Hyderabad, and Aligarh. Determined efforts are being made to bring within the University sphere "oriental" colleges that have hitherto pursued an isolated course, and to combine in such colleges the critical methods of the West with the very profound but thoroughly unsystematic learning of the East. Nine out of fifteen Universities insist on a course of instruction in a classical language as a condition of matriculation, though the attainment of a prescribed minimum in that subject alone is not usually required. In several parts of India, and particularly in Bengal, Boards, on which the local Governments and Universities are represented, have for long been discussing, and are in some cases carrying out, arrangements for the inspection and financial support of schools for oriental learning, of corresponding grade to high schools for general education. Methods for "westernising" their methods and modifying their courses so as to bring them into touch with the West are freely canvassed, and oriental "titles" are conferred by Government or University on successful students of oriental colleges and the most advanced schools.

The results are disappointing. The number of " oriental " students within our system of " recognised " education is falling. Considerably less than half the total number of students in the colleges for general education are studying as part of their course a classical language. In the five years preceding 1922 there was a fall of 4700 in the number of such students, and the last twenty years have seen an increase of only 1000 against an increase of over 20,000 in the total number of students. Still more significant is the falling off in oriental colleges and schools. In 1922 there were only 709 students in fifteen colleges, against 1452 in seventeen colleges twenty years before. In oriental schools pupils have declined in five years from 60,000 to 42,000.

It is true, of course, that some colleges and schools previously classed as " oriental " pass, owing to partial westernisation of courses, into the category of " general " institutions. It is possible that the cultural value, and it is certain that the economic value, of such partially westernised courses, is greater than that of the original oriental courses. But it is too often the case that what ultimately predominates in these partially fused courses is not an oriental atmosphere, enlightened by a spirit of western inquiry, but a vocational or utilitarian atmosphere, determined by economic considerations. The distinctive character of the oriental institutions has been lost. They are no longer attractive, with all their obscurantism and lack of method, to the whole personality of the student, or in touch with his religious, social, and domestic life. From sheer economic necessity the school or college has become grey and colourless, leading to a livelihood, but not to joy or happiness. It may be urged that economic pressure has precisely the same result in America or England. But the Englishman or American turns his necessity to glorious gain, and finds joy and happiness in his profession and the battle for life. The Indian has to live, but he does not enjoy the constant struggle for life. And with his modes of

enjoying the leisure and ease which that struggle wins for him our system of education has nothing to do. What is really wanted, and it is, perhaps, the only achievement that is possible for the Government in the sphere of higher education, is the fixing of a standard for entry to government service and professions controlled by Government, which will enable the educational world to pay more attention to the things that really count in the Indian scheme of values. But the compelling need for high attainment in the English language, and the ever-increasing complexity and specialisation of government work, make this task harder as the years go by.

Something can also be done by ensuring, through special training and a better course of general education, a class of teachers of oriental subjects in high schools and arts colleges. The need for this is beginning to attract attention. A special course for the training of such teachers is being tried in the Punjab. Hitherto such work, in schools at least, has been entrusted either to teachers of other subjects, as an extra and unimportant subject for which they have no special aptitude or love, or to a class of Maulvies or Pandits, poorly paid, because untrained, and consequently despised in the bureaucratic atmosphere of our schools, unable, owing to their lack of method, to bring their pupils up to real academic requirements, and unaccustomed owing to their want of education to consider their work as an integral part of general education. Their work has been ignored by a thoroughly westernised inspectorate, and judged solely with reference to very low and inadequate standards imposed by University or certificate examiners.

Turning to the study of Indian vernaculars, and reminding ourselves that in Calcutta University, anyhow, the Bengali language and literature has found tardy recognition, we find that from 1902, when the Universities Commission emphasised the want of attention to this subject, the provincial Governments began to remind the Universities of

their responsibility in this matter. For some time there was a tendency to resent and misinterpret this anxiety of the official world, but recent years have seen a real revival of interest, which has been accentuated by racial and reactionary aspirations. Vernacular composition is now a compulsory subject in one or more stages of most University courses. Instruction in a vernacular is required for all school leaving certificates, while proficiency is in some cases made a condition of success. But the standard generally is not high, the cultural value of such vernacular literature, suitable for school purposes, as exists, is not emphasised, and its place in the educational curriculum or relation to other subjects is not clearly defined. Cultural progress in the subject is impeded generally by the same defects in the teaching staff as have been attributed above to the oriental staff.

The recent tendency to make more use of the vernaculars as mechanism of instruction has already been emphasised in the first part of this book. There seems little probability of their use being extended to University or professional courses, though in the Hyderabad University, outside the British sphere of influence, Urdu, which is the court and official language, has been made the language of academic instruction. No one regards the question as finally settled, and all welcome the healthy zest for experiment which now prevails. Its bearing on our present topic is very real, but the extension of the use of the vernacular is so recent that one can only hint at possibilities. There are no data for definite conclusions.

The attempt to produce suitable vernacular text-books in the higher grades of western learning, which is necessitated by the present experiments, must influence the development of the vernaculars, and may have important political and economic results. If it inspires the intelligentsia to devote their energies to the interpretation of the West to the East, it will bring them into closer touch with the masses

and assist the education of those masses. But it must be remembered that within the field of elementary education the need for such vernacular text-books has been felt for nearly a century; it has produced some meritorious "readers" and rather less effective books in geography, history, nature study, and other subjects attempted in elementary schools. But it has not produced generally a type of vernacular literature educationally useful for the adult industrial and agricultural population. The possibility of such a demand producing anything of real cultural value, a vernacular literature bringing joy to the village home and popularising the village library, is even more remote. Educational needs, in the narrower sense, rarely produce great and popular literature. The modern school of Bengali literature is a response to no expressed educational need. The village schools of India are, it is true, crying aloud for "readers" with more of the cultural element, that is understood and appreciated by the village elders, and less of the utilitarian stuff. But this demand has so far met with very little response from Indian writers and publishers.

More important is the effect of the vernacular press and political emissaries to the non-English-knowing world. The efforts of politicians and journalists are undoubtedly giving an edge to the study of vernacular composition, and it is no longer fashionable for Indian politicians to assert, what is too often true, that they can express themselves more easily in English than in their vernacular. The enlarged provincial legislative councils contain many members who are unable to speak in English, and not a few who prefer to speak in the vernacular, in order to secure a wider audience within and without the council chamber. Generally one may say that the number of Indians who need the gift of clear vernacular speech and writing, or who call on others for such gifts, is growing steadily. But it would be too early as yet to feel sure that this will enhance the cultural as well as the political value of the vernaculars.

It is necessary, in conclusion, to consider the special part that may be played by Indian Universities in the development of Indian culture. That a University has a specific part to play in national life, and that its cultural function is by no means the least among its national functions, is now recognised, though with insufficient force, in India. Thanks to the work of Lord Curzon and his Universities Commission, and in a larger measure, perhaps, to the labours of the Calcutta University Commission, the Indian University is regarded no longer solely as the coping-stone of a system of schools, or as a machine for regulating examinations and conferring degrees. There is a growing tendency to regard it as a corporation of learning, inspired with the aim of moulding and vitalising national life by its organised research, its instruction, and its intellectual atmosphere.

The economic effect of this new spirit has been mentioned in the preceding chapter, and the effect produced, or likely to be produced by an organisation and administration in closer touch with industrial and commercial life has been emphasised. On the cultural side there have been, or are likely to be, results no less encouraging. Reform has aimed at relieving the older Universities of a large portion of their administrative and examining work, by transferring high schools to the control of special *ad hoc* Boards, and substituting a leaving certificate examination, conducted by such Boards, for the University matriculation examination. Further relief has been afforded by the creation of new Universities and consequent reduction in the number of colleges and students for which each University is responsible; and this responsibility will be further and substantially reduced if the Calcutta Commission's recommendation to transfer the lowest grade of University work, called the intermediate grade, from the University to the *ad hoc* school board, and to create an additional type of intermediate education, is adopted generally, as it has already been adopted in some Universities. The reconstitution of

governing bodies on broadly representative lines, referred to in the preceding chapter, has been accompanied by the formation of smaller, purely academic, bodies, responsible for wholly educational affairs, such as courses and selection of staff, and of separate committees for financial and non-educational problems.

With its educational staff and advisers thus set free for genuinely educational work, Universities have been able to devote time, energy, and funds to the development of advanced instruction by a staff of experts appointed and controlled by the Universities. While pass courses are still left, as a rule, to the staffs of affiliated colleges, honours courses and specialised post-graduate work, controlled and taught by the University staff, have been encouraged. Classes in such courses have been very small, and individual tuition has been possible. Even in the pass courses the number of students per lecturer has been substantially reduced, and college staffs strengthened, by the pressure of University regulations and financial support from University or Government.

With the development of University courses and instruction has come the concentration in University centres of experts, engaged in various kinds of advanced work, and more frequent opportunity for meeting and discussion. An academic atmosphere that was impracticable in days when all the teaching was undertaken by staffs of affiliated colleges, scattered over a wide area, is thereby being developed. This academic feeling is intensified, and advanced work facilitated, by the encouragement of special libraries and seminars for various lines of research. The increase of staff has left more time, and the development of libraries and laboratories has provided more facilities, for independent study and research by all members of College and University staffs. Substantial increase has been effected in the pay of lecturers and professors with the view of attracting the best men. Relatively to cost of living the rate of pay generally

for this class of work is higher than in England. And in University centres the development of academic society and associations, with opportunities for meeting men of learning and culture, provides attractions of a less material nature.

It is not suggested that progress on these lines has, as yet, proceeded very far, or that it has been uniform in all parts of India. What is important and encouraging is that the lines of advance have been clearly indicated and widely recognised. In the Calcutta University reform has been delayed, originally by inability on the part of the Government of India and the University authorities to arrive at a mutual understanding, and latterly, since the transfer of control to the provincial Government, by difficulties, mainly financial, but also political and personal. But even in Calcutta we find a marked development of advanced instruction, though critics urge that the staff for such work, 233 in number according to a recent estimate, has grown out of all proportion to the students who, by the same estimate, were 1234. And the appalling congestion of work in that University has been partially relieved by the carving out of it of the new Universities of Rangoon, Dacca, and Patna. The need for this is indicated by the fact that this University, at the time of the Calcutta University Commission, was responsible for nearly 28,000 college students, examined pupils from 854 high schools, while it examined in one year in all nearly 32,000 candidates. Its matriculation examination was the largest of its kind in the world. In the four other affiliated Universities, established on London University lines after the Mutiny, congestion was a real, though not an equally emphatic, obstacle. The Allahabad University has been relieved by the establishment of the sectarian Universities of Benares and Aligarh, the unitary University of Lucknow, and the provincial University of Nagpur. The Punjab has transferred some of its students to the University of Delhi, and Madras has found relief in the Indian state Universities of Mysore and Hyderabad. In all, there

are now fifteen Universities instead of the five investigated by the Universities Commission of 1902. Culturally, the net result has been to ensure more time, energy, and funds for those recommendations of the 1902 and 1917 Commissions that aimed at raising the general level of culture. Superficially, perhaps, this has been most apparent in the Allahabad University, and Universities carved out of it. But radical changes have been made, and more are contemplated, in Bombay, Madras, and Lahore. Only in the establishment of the Patna and Nagpur Universities has a reactionary tendency manifested itself. Political bitterness, racial feeling, and complaints that a reduction in the number of graduates and sphere of higher education was being aimed at, have combined with financial considerations to produce Universities which resemble in their main features the Universities of the pre-Reform era more closely than the ideal University sketched by the Calcutta University Commission. The Patna University was constituted by an Act passed in 1917, before the Calcutta University Commission had begun its labours. But the original proposals, which were sadly modified in the course of legislation, were far more in keeping with the report of that Commission than the final Act.

Capital has been made by critics of Indian education out of this increase in the number of Universities, and it has been urged that a system of education that was already notoriously top-heavy required the funds, which this extension has demanded, more urgently for mass education. The relative financial claims of the various grades of education can never finally be adjusted. But it is only fair to remind critics that this development of University organisation and creation of new Universities had for their aim, and are likely to produce, qualitative not quantitative results. The number of Universities, or the method of their organisation, does not determine the number of students. But it affects vitally the quality of the work and the part to be

played by University staff and graduates in the cultural life of the nation. If we compare India with other parts of the Empire, we shall find that the number of University students, in proportion to population and students in other grades, is abnormally high. But many of these students are academic only in name, not by virtue of their attainments or the aim and method of their instruction. More scientific grading, such as has been contemplated and partially effected, will substantially reduce the number. And the number of Universities in India, even after the recent increase, is still very small in relation to population, as compared with the number in other parts of the Empire. In Canada there were, in 1921, 23 Universities for a population of 8½ millions, in Australia, 6 for 5½ millions, and in South Africa 4 for 1½ millions, against 15 in India for a total population of 318 millions, and a literate population of 22½ millions.[1]

Many years must elapse before the effect of the present movement towards University reform, even if it is continued and widely extended, can pervade the whole cultural life of India. Twenty years is a short period in such life. The rate of progress will depend on simultaneous reform of other grades, and on racial, political, and economic conditions beyond academic control. All that we can claim is that the general lines of reform will remove some, at least, of the obstacles to cultural development that have been enumerated above. The economic pressure and the racial and political pre-occupation, which have necessarily diverted attention from cultural values, may be expected to grow more intense, and must necessarily influence an academic world which, if it is to be usefully alive, must be in contact with all sides of national life. But there are grounds for hoping that the torch of true and disinterested learning will be kept alight to guide the nation in its search for rational happiness, and to expose to wholesome ridicule and rebuke the dark and noisome corners of economic and political life. What India wants is standardisation of what gives real value to life,

right conceptions of the good, the true, and the beautiful, to sweeten and vitalise the atmosphere of public life. This can be achieved only if Universities help India to establish rational, not merely emotional, contact with her past, and to create standards of truth and beauty from intelligent and sympathetic study of her past and present, illuminated by western methods, and stimulated by western ideas.

The academic contribution to this task will depend ultimately more on the personality of the men of learning, who really constitute a University, than on its organisation of courses. Such organisation may be suggested by Commissions and outside experts, but it can be inspired effectively only by the men who work it. It cannot, perhaps, be claimed as yet that recent reforms have thrown up men like the great Sanskritist, Bhandarkar, or the chemist, P. C. Roy. But observers of the academic world find, even among the rank and file, a steadily growing number of young men inspired by something of the right spirit, and the present tendency to fill professional chairs from Indian, rather than European quarters, has, perhaps, more than racial justification. It is comforting also to find men like the late Sir Ashutosh Mukerji devoting all their astounding energy and intellect in their leisure and retirement to the essentially cultural problems of academic life. Without wishing to deprecate the recent substantial increase in emoluments, which has relieved, or should have relieved, academic workers of sordid and distracting worry, one must not over-estimate the effect of salaries on University recruitment. In no part of the world, and least of all in India, is it possible or desirable that the material prizes of academic life should rival those of commercial, industrial, or bureaucratic life. So long as academic work was regarded mainly as "official," and Government bestowed status and prospects on lecturers and professors, the public reputation of such "officials" suffered from the inferiority of their salary and position to those of revenue or judicial officials. It was unfair and de-

grading competition. The formation of separate University cadres of academic, not official, status is gradually leading the public to appreciate a lecturer for reasons not connected with salary. Forces have been released that may, in time, restore the ancient sanctity and repute of the guru. And men who hitherto have been driven into politics, business, or law, by a wholesome desire to be independent of a too pervasive Government are now free to devote their energies to University service and an academic life that acknowledges but a small and ever-decreasing measure of official control. If this new academic status brings into University life men with the vigour, independence, and intellect that characterise the most leading politicians, industrialists, and lawyers of India, the cultural future of Indian Universities is secure.

It is unnecessary to prolong this chapter by setting out fully the bearing of women's education on the cultural development of India. It may be assumed that readers of this book will require no elaborate facts or figures to convince them that a nation's attitude towards all that makes for happiness and enjoyment of social and domestic life depends largely on the attitude of its women towards those things. A scheme of education which ignores or assigns an inferior position to women may be effective politically and professionally, but will have no enduring effect on personality as a whole, or on racial characteristics. The disastrous results of sidetracking women's education in the early stages have been emphasised in the first part of this work. When we deal in a later chapter with the present position of this problem, we shall have an opportunity of showing to what extent, and how, mistakes of the past are being retrieved. Here we need only acknowledge the cultural significance of the whole question.

We have emphasised so consistently the need for sympathetic and determined study and development of Indian forms of culture that we may be accused of forgetting that there is no fundamental unity in such culture. Between the

Islamic and Hindu worlds is a deep gulf. Will not devotion to oriental studies deepen this gulf and intensify the antagonism? Can the distracted Indian world find unity and peace outside the world of western ideas and institutions?

Theoretically, the educated Indian of to-day knows something of the growth of religious toleration in England, and its fundamental connexion with the political development of that country. But theory will never pass into practice, until the applicability of these western ideas to eastern life has been emphasised by a more pervasive and intelligent study of oriental ideas and institutions. So long as rational inquiry is confined to western subjects and the spiritual life of India is veiled by an emotional haze, a narrow and intolerant sectarianism will continue to devastate India. The recent establishment of the Benares and Aligarh Universities, in so far as they aim at critical investigation of the spiritual and social foundations of the Hindu and Islamic world, is a crusade against sectarianism, not a proof or intensification of it. The world of learning recognises no barriers of race or religion. It was high time for the inclusion of Hindu and Islamic culture in that comprehensive world, and for the first stage in the conversion of fanatics into scholars. It is essentially the uneducated masses that are lashed into destructive fury by cow-killing and temple processions. Those who have never tried to apply to the world, from which this fanaticism grows, the ideas that western education has given them have failed, in spite of conscientious endeavours, to devise any means for checking its growth. It is time for those who have realised, by study, the best and the worst elements in Hinduism and Islam, and the process of their growth, to enter on the task of healing and reconciliation.

It would be a bad day for India if Hinduism and Islam ever became culturally indistinguishable. Many of the distinctive features of each system are indispensable to India. History reminds us that national and political unity is con-

sistent with the retention and even intensification of several distinctive forms of culture. The Catholic south of Germany is culturally different from the Protestant north. Belgium is not only bilingual, but divided culturally by problems which agitate, but do not seriously menace, the nation's life. There is room within the British Empire for the Celtic characteristics of the Irish Free State, the French ideas and associations of Quebec, and the scheme of values that determines Boer life in the Transvaal. There will be room within a politically united India for seekers after happiness, along very diverse paths, when mosque and temple are illuminated by the torch of learning.

Our general contention has been that, educationally, we have not yet made any substantial contribution to India's scheme of real values. When the educated Indian is most himself, in the expression of his deepest emotion, and in the domestic or communal enjoyment of his leisure, he shows the least trace of what our schools and colleges have given him. Economically, professionally, and politically he is to a large extent what we, not altogether consciously, have made him. We have not had time, for the most part we have not had the desire, to make him at ease or at home in the western world. We have sent him back, dissatisfied, to his own world, which he enjoys the more keenly because of its contrast with the unassimilated West, but which he is unable to rationalise, or bring into healthy contact with his economic or professional life, and with the outside world to which he is economically and politically bound. Our failure to help him in this respect has for some time been admitted by us. But obstacles largely beyond the control of educationalists have retarded our efforts. The recent movement towards University reform seems likely to quicken the sense of cultural responsibility. But pre-occupation with economic and political affairs, and racial bitterness, will for many years yet prevent India from seeing that the arts and sciences are essential to the pursuit of happiness, and that the

characters of nations, as well as individuals, are determined largely by their standards of truth and beauty. It is something, at least, that the attempt to find happiness in an alien world has been made and found vain. The passionate desire for happiness, of which the West is but dimly conscious, still prevails. And it is recognised now that the personality of India can find complete and joyful expression only in a life consistent with her spiritual and social traditions and heritage. It remains for the West to suggest means of developing that life, and to remind India that the absence of development means spiritual death.

CHAPTER XIV

EDUCATION AND MORAL PROGRESS

Definition of moral progress—Dependence on religion and spirit of Christ—Inevitable restrictions of Government-controlled system—Absence of religious basis patent—Not in unrest—But in failure to touch personality—Courage, independence, and spiritual outlet not secured—No battering-ram against caste — Emotion diverted to reactionary channels — Current reform movements—Significance and limitations—Attempts at moral instruction—Indirect influence of "humanities"—Discipline of school life and games—Caste and social service—Lines of advance—India's call for western help—Increased opportunities for non-official workers—Qualities required for work—Gandhi and missionaries—Significance of recent constitutional changes.

FROM our attempt to estimate the assistance which our educational system has rendered to India in the pursuit of truth and beauty, as a means of happiness, we pass naturally to an estimate of our educational contribution to India's pursuit of goodness. Though separate treatment of this third type of absolute value may be philosophically unjustifiable, and though intellectual and æsthetic standards in the everyday life of nations and individuals clearly influence and are influenced by moral aims and conduct, isolation of the moral sphere is appropriate to the scope of this book and practically justifiable. How far and in what way have we, through our schools and colleges, influenced the moral ideals and achievements of India, and thereby contributed to her ultimate peace and happiness?

In order to be as precise as possible in a subject on which it is too easy to be vague, we will take as the ultimate goal of moral progress the practical application of the principles

of the Sermon on the Mount, a goal that is sentimentally appreciated and accepted by an ever-growing body of educated public opinion in India. We will assume that the acceptance of such an aim necessitates the intelligent and whole-hearted dedication of will, thought and feeling to the service of others, a recognition of the value of giving rather than getting, and a determination to undergo the discipline of mind and body that such recognition involves. How far has our education helped India towards such self-determination and towards practical measures for giving effect to it?

This chapter is written from the standpoint of one who believes that moral progress depends ultimately on the religious attitude of individual and community, that is on the prevalent conception of the mutual relations of God and man. Though actual conduct is determined partly by conditions that have no apparent connection with religion and seems sometimes on a higher plane when entirely dissociated from religion, the ideals which ensure progress and demand something more than mere adaptation to environment depend for their driving force on religious sanction, and are an integral part of man's attempt to achieve peace and happiness through his relations to the supreme power of the universe. Consistent with this standpoint is the conviction that an educational system which is to be, in the full sense, morally effective must rest on a religious foundation. This does not mean merely or primarily that there must be "religious instruction," but that the teaching of the humanities and the atmosphere of school and college life, in and outside the classroom, must be saturated with religious thought and feeling.

The writer's personal view is that moral progress in India depends on the gradual transformation of education by explicit recognition of the spirit of Christ. All that he has seen of Christian mission work in India, with all its admitted shortcomings, has convinced him that work inspired by some such aim can alone supply the necessary

basis. Recollections of mission settlements where communities, raised from sullen apathy and suspicious resentment to a life of cheerful activity and service, testify wholeheartedly to the triumph of light and love over fear and superstitious ignorance, are before him as he writes this. Christianity is a very vital force in India to-day. The more it spreads the more it will differ in everything except essentials from the Christianity of the West. The more such difference convinces the higher castes and classes of the possibility of an Indian evolution of the spirit of Christ, the more ready they will become to convert their present sentimental attachment to his personality into practical co-operation.

But this is a subject for another book and a more competent pen. Our subject is the work of a system initiated and controlled by a Government that has had definitely to disclaim a religious purpose. In the first part of the book we have tried to make it plain that, though this Government has announced *bona-fide* sympathy with all types of religious instruction and has shown this sympathy by grants to institutions which impart and even enforce sectarian instruction, its necessary impartiality, its abstention from all inquiry into or examination of such instruction, its inability to spend public funds thereon, and above all the establishment of a very large number of Government and Local Board institutions, with no provision for religious instruction, have resulted in the evolution of a type of education that is certainly not religious, and is exposed to the charge of "godlessness" which critics freely bring against it. It is unfortunate that government institutions, from the secularist point of view, have been the most efficient, and have received and partially earned the name of "model institutions". Institutions with a religious basis have in the public view lost much of their religious significance in so far as they have been identified with the system. And, apart from Christian missions, the number of communities, committees, and individuals that have tried to carry out a distinctively

religious aim by the establishment of institutions within such a system has been conspicuously small.

Whether it will be possible for the "reformed" provincial Governments, no longer influenced by the Government of India, so to relax their control as to make a religious foundation possible, without divesting themselves of responsibility for ultimate control and maintenance of an effective standard, is a separate problem. What we have now to consider is the actual effect of the government system, with its necessary limitations, on the moral ideals of India. What contribution are the very many ex-students of schools and colleges inspired by no religious aim making to the moral progress of their country?

It is we believe a mistake to attribute the anarchic spirit that prevails in places, and the discontent that is ubiquitous, to the neglect of religious education. Sunday school pupils in England are no longer taught to ask God to

> Bless the Squire and his relations
> And help us keep our proper stations.

The most effective kind of religious teaching frequently produces agitators and sometimes bombs. Spiritual aspirations, perverted but very real, have led many students to the anarchists. Too much has been made of the lawlessness that is supposed to follow the upsetting of religious belief without the substitution of some other creed. Government education has not captured the outworks of Islam. Hinduism has no dogmas to be disturbed and can afford to laugh at "infidelity". Its social system and caste life with all its obligations stand unshaken. The Indian student is no reckless individualist, deprived of all standards and recognising no ties. In thought and fancy he may be free. In conduct he remains socially and domestically tied. He is the slave of public opinion in his college, caste, and family, and follows the most cogent crowd.

This failure to reach the individual personality and

educate it, by the suggestion of other influences than those of tradition and surroundings, constitutes in fact the chief charge against our education on the moral side. We have affected vaguely the thought and sentiment of educated India as a whole. We have conveyed ideas and ideals to which there is in the mass a sentimental reaction. But we have not given the individual the driving power to apply these ideas in the face of opposition, or to force a channel for his emotions through the mud heaps of prejudice and ignorance with which the social system surrounds the intelligentsia. It is not our removal of these mud heaps but our inability to remove them that has diverted the emotional flood into anarchist channels. It is not our failure to kindle spiritual aspirations, but our inability to develop simultaneously the qualities of courage and independence, that have led so many of our students to follow the line of least resistance and adopt popular and reactionary modes of self-expression. In the spiritual world we have still to teach the practical application of the Christian College motto in Madras :

> They are slaves who dare not be
> In the right with two or three.

Dealing only with the professional side of Indian life, and ignoring the personal and domestic side, we have left in all their strength the opposing forces that educated India respects and fears so much. Only the battering-ram of religion can reduce the citadel of those forces. Meanwhile we find an acceptance of insincerity which, morally quite as much as intellectually, is disastrous. The most eloquent at social reform conferences have allowed their infant daughters to be married, refused marriage to child-widows, and voted against proposals for raising the age of consent. Those who have thundered against class and race distinctions have supported locally the exclusion of outcastes from village school and well. In all this there is no wilful hypocrisy. On

the platform they enunciate in all sincerity sentiments that are a real part of their educational apparatus and professional life. But in their conduct they are obeying forces that lie outside their professional life and sway their whole personality.

It may be urged that this double life with its consequent unreality is the result of reliance on western literature and thought which cannot reach the core of Indian life. Progress is possible only if imagination is stirred and will set in action by drawing attention to what is spiritually great in Indian religions, to the cloud of oriental witnesses, to the lives and teaching of saints and heroes such as the Buddha, Ramanuja, Nanak, Kabir and Chaitanya. And in support of this may be brought forward the undoubted revival, on aggressive and progressive lines, of Hindu, Mohammedan, and Sikh sectarianism, and the growth out of such movements of social service and reform and humanitarian leagues and missions.[1]

No one is more convinced than the present writer of the urgent need for critical and rational, though sympathetic, study of Indian culture and religions. Too much space has already been devoted in this book to emphasising the disastrous neglect of this fact in our educational system up to comparatively recent times. The moral progress of a nation cut off from, and ignorant of, its cultural and spiritual antecedents is inconceivable. But it would be a mistake to suppose that the recent reform movements which have been associated with Indian religions have resulted from, or been accompanied by, a critical study of those religions, or that they ensure the moral and spiritual progress of India on traditional and evolutionary lines. It would not be unfair to say that they have arisen out of a desire to emulate the work of Christian missions and are inspired, partly by something of the spirit of Christ, and partly by a purely emotional and uncritical love of what is Indian and hatred of all that savours of the West. On their higher side they represent a

practical mysticism, fruitful in good works, which is found in the saints of all religions and is specially characteristic of Christianity. On the lower side they represent a reactionary movement towards the popular cults of India, and a desire to use these cults for the expulsion of a too aggressive West rather than to establish any positive scheme of social service. On the higher side they are trying to carry on the work and traditions of the Buddha, Chaitanya, and the great saints who have risen superior to the Hindu or Islamic worlds, and are no more characteristically Hindu or Mohammedan than the Christian missionaries. On the lower side they are continuing the work that Tilak began, when in the '90's of last century he adapted popular Hinduism to his political and racial propaganda.

In so far as the reformers move in the rarefied spiritual atmosphere of the great Indian saints, they are likely to attract sentimental veneration but to produce very little effect on the social structure and traditional life of Hinduism and Islam. Even the Buddha's followers, after temporary domination of India, were finally ousted by the combined forces of Hinduism, as soon as the radical and disintegrating tendencies of Buddhism had been discovered. Conscious of the impracticability of swaying the masses by work solely on this exalted plane, the reformers condescend, *more Indico*, to popular cults and find in these cults little perhaps that aids their schemes for social service, but much that is usefully antagonistic to the West and the religion that the West has brought to them. The result is that strange mixture of lofty mysticism and high ideals with demoralising subservience to popular prejudice which puzzles so many observers of these religious reform movements. In an atmosphere from which emotion banishes rational criticism there is a constant effort to reconcile attitudes that are ultimately irreconcilable. Nothing but very patient and impartial study of India's religious past and present will reveal those weeds which are inconsistent with moral growth

and must be eradicated. And nothing but the spirit of Christ will give the courage and will-power that a campaign against these weeds requires. It will be impossible to differentiate any really effective reform movement, associated with Indian religions, from Christianity. It may also be difficult to connect it with any western form of Christianity.

We cannot then claim those who are trying to reform India on lines consistent with India's religions as a direct product of our educational system. We may claim that recent efforts to encourage a rational and critical study of Indian culture will gradually influence the work of such men, though it will not supply the necessary driving power. So far we have been able only to show what our education has failed to do. Is there nothing to be credited to its account ?

It was not to be expected that the most conscientious Government that the world has ever seen would remain indifferent to the moral welfare of its student population. The periodic resolutions and reports of conferences on moral instruction, that are fragrant resting-places in the dusty history of Indian education, testify quite as much to its very genuine uneasiness as to a desire to pacify the critics of a "godless" system. A rich vintage of draft "moral instruction courses" and notes on the formation of character betrays a firm determination to stimulate co-operation in the search for the secretariat equivalent of religion. The moral instruction courses shed by ethical experts make even a school inspector feel that morality thus nakedly exposed is singularly bony and unattractive. They suggest an attitude towards religion that Gibbon associated with the Roman Empire. To the Government all religions are equally useful. It is politely suggested that to the people they are all equally true. The philosophic view of religion is discreetly left to the good sense of the schoolmaster.[1]

Fortunately no one, except enterprising publishers who prepared text-books to meet the courses, took these proposals

very seriously. "Moral instruction" has not been made an examination subject and plays no serious part in school life. Educational authorities have agreed generally, and their view has been accepted by the Government, that in the absence of a religious foundation the formation of character must depend on bringing out the moral significance of the "humanities" as taught in schools and colleges, and still more on the development of the corporate idea of school and college life. It is to be regretted that the opportunities afforded by the critical study of the life and teaching of Indian saints and sages did not receive more emphasis in this connexion.

For reasons that have been stated elsewhere the "humanities" have received practically no attention in schools and far too little in University courses. The severely utilitarian treatment of the English language and literature and the inadequate teaching of vernacular and classical literature have afforded but scanty opportunities for the illustration of ethical principles. More ethical value has been got out of the teaching of history, civics, and economics. The general result has been undoubtedly a promulgation of ideas and ideals not usually associated with oriental life. There has been in particular a growing consciousness of the significance and value of freedom as a condition of growth. Sentimentally the need for equal opportunities to all for development and self-realisation is finding recognition. In salutary conjunction with this ideal is found a growing conception of the privileges conferred, and obligations imposed, on the individual by membership in a body that transcends family and caste. And a tendency to estimate religion by its influence on morality has been established. It is, however, impossible to say how far the growing prevalence of such ideas is due to the humanities as taught in school and college, and how far to the general work and religious teaching of Christian missions and the extremely high standard of morality set, in their official and professional

life, by European officials and professional or commercial magnates. That the European standard in official life is higher than the Indian standard is well known to all who have been familiar with the working of provincial departments transferred recently to Indian control. For diplomatic reasons it cannot openly be emphasised by those who have most recent and intimate knowledge of this fact. But a frank statement is necessary here if we are to do full justice to the educational significance of our work in India. On the maintenance of the official standard that we have set the moral and spiritual progress of India to no small extent depends.

Our school and college instruction has, in part at least, been responsible for the hold that these new ideas are establishing on the thought and feeling of India. A far more important part has been played by the general life and atmosphere of our institutions. For this life, as organised at least in the more effective institutions and particularly those maintained by missions and the Government, has had for its aim, not merely the application of principles theoretically established in the classroom, but also the training of will and formation of habits to complete a task which concentration on thought and feeling leaves lamentably incomplete. The provision and organisation of suitable hostels, the development of school games, societies, and clubs and in a very special measure the establishment of the boy scout movement have played an all-important part. School rules and discipline have been devised and explained in order to bring out the idea of corporate unity and individual responsibility for the welfare of the whole. That these efforts have been impeded by racial characteristics of the student class was suggested when we discussed the bearing of school life on political life. That far too many institutions within our system, particularly in Bengal, have no influence, or only a demoralising influence, on the characters of their pupils is known to all inspecting authorities,

and has been painfully but usefully illustrated in the Calcutta University Commission report. But it is true to say that the number of institutions which aim at a healthy and edifying corporate life is growing steadily, that it includes an ever-growing number of institutions not connected with Government or missions, and that ex-students of these institutions may sometimes be distinguished by their bearing and determined attitude towards life. It is also reassuring to note that this side of school life is fully and effectively recognised in Rabindranath Tagore's institution at Bolpur, which is outside our system and represents an attempt to give fuller play than our system permits to Indian sentiments and aspirations.

In the first part of this book it was suggested that our education had adopted towards the caste system an ostrich-like attitude which had largely been responsible for its failure to influence Hindu life as a whole. Until that which moulds the habits and underlies the most effective convictions of the Hindu world is more frankly recognised, and its good and evil features more deliberately explored in school and college, our education remains unreal. A definite attitude towards caste is probably impracticable in a system so intimately connected with the Government, and this constitutes one of the main reasons for objecting to that intimacy. The effect of this restriction on some of the problems arising out of caste has been recorded in the political, economic, and cultural chapters of this book. It is necessary briefly to revert to the subject with reference to the bearing of caste on social service and the application generally of Christ's teaching.

Mr. Rushbrook Williams in his annual survey for 1923-24 asserts, no doubt with documentary evidence behind him, that "the acknowledged leaders of Indian thought have committed themselves uncompromisingly to the principle of radical reform".[1] It is known to the world that Mr. Gandhi, while upholding the general merits of the caste system and

particularly its wholesome conception of "dharma," has condemned in theory and practice the general attitude towards outcastes. Of his sincerity or that of many of his followers there is no doubt. The small but influential Brahmo Samaj, and the far larger Arya Samaj with its 482,000 adherents, are noted for their progressive views and action in this question. The Arya Samaj, unlike the Brahmo Samaj,[1] aims very definitely at the reformation of Hinduism on Hindu lines, and its attitude towards the untouchables is the more significant on this account. Some of the work of the Theosophical Society,[2] in so far as it aims at a refined Hinduism, might also be brought within the same category, though the writer has not the materials from which to define clearly their general attitude to "untouchability". Specially dramatic is a recent incident in the Indian State of Travancore, a stronghold of orthodoxy, where a "jatha" or devoted band of caste Hindus marched many miles in solemn procession to the ruler's palace to beg the regent Maharani to throw open all the public roads for the untouchables.[3] Of more permanent significance are many social service leagues, particularly in Bombay, for educational and philanthropic work among the depressed classes.

Against this must be set the opinion of census officials, mainly Indian, recorded in the 1921 census report, that caste consciousness seems to be growing.[4] While there is a growing tendency in towns to adjust caste scruples to economic and political exigencies, there is nothing to indicate any widespread and intensive reaction against the existence of such scruples. The forces of prejudice and ceremonial rigidity are constantly being strengthened by the absorption of tribes and classes within the Hindu system and by the desire of the lower castes to attain a higher grade in the social and ceremonial world. Such recent recruits and climbers are the most aggressive champions of orthodoxy; they probably formed a large part of a mass meeting of orthodox Hindus which recorded recently in Bombay a most

vigorous protest against Mr. Gandhi's plea for the untouchables, and added that, if the Shastras were found to support him, the Shastras must be wrong.[1] The effects of a similar orthodoxy are found in the census references to increase in child marriages among some castes, which is certainly inconsistent with the theory of the spread of western ideas.

It is clearly possible to justify both optimism and pessimism by statistics and facts. It is impossible for an impartial observer to weigh figures in a scale and arrive at a definite conclusion. One's attitude is inevitably determined by local experience and personal contact. All that the present writer can assert from his experience is that no perceptible effect is being produced, within the officially recognised sphere of our educational work, on those features of the caste system which most impede social service. The general life of school and college, though it countenances and even provides for caste exclusiveness in food, may indirectly and very slowly be undermining the walls of prejudice. But a frontal and determined advance is possible only through essentially religious institutions.

We have emphasised consistently the spiritual restrictions involved by the popular identification of education with a bureaucracy. We believe that these restrictions are intensified in India, where that bureaucracy is predominantly alien and on that account credited by a suspicious and sensitive public with selfish and essentially materialistic motives and deprived of all ability to encourage religious tendencies. For this reason we welcome the recent decision to stop recruitment of Europeans for the Indian Educational Service;[2] the transfer of the control of education to the peoples of India becomes less alarming. But the need for the co-operation of English men and women in all forms of Indian education is more real and urgent to-day than it has ever been before, and it is on the moral and spiritual side that their co-operation will be most valuable. There need be no fear that such assistance will be rejected on racial

grounds, if it is offered in a spirit that India can appreciate. In positions free from all official restraint, they will be able to persuade India that they have come to serve. With a social prestige and remuneration far inferior to that of officials, they will convince India of their capacity for renunciation. And no European who has convinced India of his love, his desire for service and capacity for renunciation, has ever failed to leave his mark on her ideals and achievements. It would probably be true to say that most of the English educational officials of the past have been actuated largely by such motives. Their capacity for service has certainly been proved. But if, as is rarely the case, they have been conscious of such motives, natural reserve has combined with official procedure to keep them hidden. The Indian has been left to appreciate their zeal and rectitude but to express polite incredulity regarding their motives. The personality of an unofficial fellow-worker is unveiled to him. And the revealed personality of any English man or woman dedicated to educational work in India under present conditions, without hope of official support, encouragement or reward, is bound to make a substantial contribution to India's moral ascent.

The increased power given to European missionaries by the recent changes will be specially marked. For no fault of their own, and owing to circumstances largely beyond their control, their educational work has suffered from its identification with an alien bureaucracy. Hindu and Mohammedan opposition to their work has been largely due to this identification and has been racial rather than religious. Even in Indian Christian circles racial and national feeling has shown itself. The development of missions staffed and controlled by Indian Christians has been claimed as a national rather than spiritual triumph, and a demand for substantial reduction of European control of mission work has aroused on the other side a reluctance to entrust the expenditure of funds raised in England to purely Indian agencies.

The Indianisation of that side of the Government which directly controls education will gradually create an atmosphere of greater trustfulness. European missionaries will no longer be suspected, quite unjustly, of being semi-official agents of an alien Government, enjoying their special protection and encouragement. Dissociated in the popular mind from the Government, they will be able to make more clear to India the disinterested love and desire for service that have always inspired their work. From the Indian Christian side has already come a call for the continuance of their work in no ambiguous terms. A resolution passed at a recent All-Indian Christian Conference declared that " the continuance of the British connexion with the missionary factor removed " will create an unthinkably ghastly situation.[1] Speakers at this conference made it plain that what India wanted for mission work from England was not solely nor primarily money but the gift of personal service inspired by love. In demanding confidently the qualities of loyal service rather than leadership of their European friends, they paid the greatest compliment that was possible. Not a few English missionaries have shown already their readiness to serve under Indian superiors.

Similar recognition will come from Hindu and Mohammedan quarters. At a meeting of the Calcutta Missionary Conference in July, 1925, Mr. Gandhi gave his reasons for not professing Christianity and for finding in Hinduism entire satisfaction. His assertion that he found in the Bhagvad Gita and the Upanishads a solace that he missed even in the Sermon on the Mount failed probably to convince those who knew him best and admired him most. The extent of his debt to the Sermon on the Mount was shown in the charges he brought against the missionaries of relying on the assistance of temporal power. His conviction that the patronage and protection of a Government creates an impassable barrier between missionary and people was Christian rather than Hindu in origin. In urging them

to seek out in a spirit of true humility, dependent only on their faith, the lowly cottages, and in emphasising the need for receptivity and complete identification with the masses of India, he was only repeating the message which missionaries took to India. When it is no longer possible to identify Christianity with all that is bad in the western world or all that is irksome in an alien Government, when under more favourable conditions the spirit of Christ assumes an Indian form, there will be no excuse for any misunderstanding of the work of European missionaries and no reluctance on the part of Mr. Gandhi and his followers to admit openly how much they owe to their teaching. It is quite wrong to lament the passing away of the conditions under which England, through its educational missionaries, can really assist the moral progress of India. It would be more appropriate to rejoice over their final establishment.

CHAPTER XV

EDUCATION AND THE MASSES

Improvement a condition of cultural, political and economic advance—Deplorable position—School attendance and literacy—Increase in expenditure and pupils misleading—Historical survey—Aggressive campaign starts with twentieth century—Demand for new schools exhausted, 1912—Further advance on voluntary system slow and costly—Movement towards compulsion—Statutory basis but advance financially retarded—Extravagance and inefficiency of voluntary system—Deadlock in agricultural areas—Financial policy for compulsion essential—Responsibility of provincial governments—Systematic survey of ways and means and prescribed minimum—Objections to compulsion—Not insuperable—Baroda's example—Concentration on progressive areas—Its dangers—Popularising of schools—Curriculum and local demands—The teacher and the community—Community welfare work—Limitations of "board" schools—Adaptation of school hours and holidays—Women teachers—Inspecting staff—Adult education—Training of teachers—School buildings—Linguistic problem—The depressed classes—Efforts of Government, missions, and Indian bodies—Poor results, except among Christian converts—Compulsion useless—No progress without a new outlook—Criminal and aboriginal tribes.

It has frequently been asserted in the preceding chapters that the political, economic, and cultural advance of India depends largely on a type of elementary education that will ensure, within a measurable period of time, a standard of literacy in the industrial and agricultural population similar to that which prevails in the most advanced parts of Europe, and that will so alter their outlook on life as to enable them to co-operate intelligently with the Government, to assist in the organisation of India for the production of wealth, to derive a higher and more rational kind of enjoyment from their indigenous culture, and to connect that culture more closely with ideals of morality and social service. Even those who move uneasily in so rarefied an atmosphere of aims and aspirations are forced to admit that increase in

literacy increases the comfort and convenience of the proletariat and makes them easier to control and govern. If it merely protects them from the extortionate subordinates of the Government and railway official world and from the wiles of the moneylender, it is so much to the good. If it only instils the most rudimentary ideas of hygiene and ensures a larger and more intelligent reading public for the pamphlets of the agricultural and co-operative credit departments, it is adding to material happiness. If it exposes the villager to the dishonesty of an unscrupulous press, it gives him also the ability to read both sides of a case and makes him less dependent on and susceptible to the oratory of peripatetic agitators. If it tends to make him discontented with his lot and anxious for clerical and sedentary occupation in towns, such discontent is not so destructive or unmanageable as the restlessness of illiterate frontier tribes or the fury born of superstitious ignorance that may at any time in any part of India transform a town or village into pandemonium. It is pleasanter and cheaper to mould a literate population by appropriate and intelligent methods of education than to suppress an illiterate mob by machine-guns.

Though the importance of mass education has never been ignored by the Government, though from 1854 onwards its claim to an ever-growing share of attention and money was often emphasised, though from the beginning of this century its predominant importance has periodically been urged, and such urgency has found practical expression in ever-increasing expenditure, though Indian politicians from the beginning of the Congress movement in the '80's of last century, and with increased fervency since the propaganda work of Ghokhale in the first decade of this century, have promised enthusiastic support of any schemes for its expansion, the position to-day is shown by statistics admitted by the highest educational authorities, and proclaimed by their critics, to be thoroughly unsatisfactory. According to the

Government of India quinquennial review, (1917-22), we are making no real advance in the battle against illiteracy. Schemes multiply and expenditure grows. There is an encouraging readiness to experiment as well as a real improvement in quality within a limited range of schools. But there are no forces equipped and marshalled for a bold and vigorous advance.

The census authorities of 1921 suggest that in what is called " effective " literacy, that is in the population above the age of 20, there has been no advance in the preceding decade.[1] Taking literates of over 5 years of age, we find that 6 per cent. of the male population was literate in 1881, 11 per cent. in 1911 and just over 13 per cent. in 1921. Of the female population less than 3 per cent. was literate in 1921. The percentage for both sexes in India, 1921, was only just over 8 per cent. Drawing attention to the colossal nature of the problem, the census superintendent in the Punjab notes that, in the event of a recent scheme for the addition of 60,000 to the annual number of those completing the primary school course proving completely effective, the percentage of literacy would thereby be raised in ten years only from 9 to 13 per cent.[2] This scheme was heralded as a real advance, and, though economically planned, involved heavy increase in expenditure. If something on the same scale were attempted consistently in all parts of India, it would take about two centuries for India to reach the present percentage of literacy, over 90 per cent., of England and Wales. In England one notes with surprise and remembers an adult who cannot read or answer a simple letter. In India ninety-two out of every hundred, and in its police force fifty out of every hundred, are in this position.[3]

If we return to the number of school pupils our first impression is that they are slightly more encouraging than the literacy figures. It is true that nearly three-quarters of the villages in India have no schools. But we console ourselves with the thought that all these are small villages

and most of them very small. In the towns and larger villages there are facilities generally for those who demand them. It is true that out of 38 millions of children who should be at school only 8 millions are on the rolls, that out of every three boys who should be at school only one is on the rolls and out of every thirteen girls only one, and that only 3 per cent. of the total population is enrolled in primary schools against 17 per cent. in Scotland and 16 per cent. in England. But these figures are not in themselves so depressing as the literacy figures. The difference between 3 per cent. and 17 per cent. for school enrolment is not so striking as that between 13 per cent. and 90 per cent. for literacy.

But school enrolment figures under the present system in India mean very little. The education given in very many of our primary schools ends, as an official reporter once remarked, with the cradle and allows a relapse of 39 per cent. of its beneficiaries into illiteracy within five years.[1] The average duration of school life in these schools is barely four years. During these four years irregular attendance and ineffective teaching prevent the completion of a satisfactory elementary course. The lower classes are crowded with children deposited by parents to be out of the way. When they become economically useful to the family they are removed or attend irregularly. The higher classes contain only a handful of irregular attenders, two or three classes being taught by one teacher since numbers do not justify a teacher per class. Much of the teacher's time is spent in collecting pupils from their homes. There are no regular school hours, no regular dates for admission of pupils. They are admitted when domestic convenience or the horoscope demands it. In one province 38 per cent. of the lowest class pupils do not proceed beyond that class, and only 18 per cent. eventually reach the top class.[2] When we consider in fact the school enrolment figures we must remember that they do not represent, as they would under a

compulsory system, pupils who are undergoing a complete course of elementary education. They are the figures of a singularly imperfect voluntary system. Owing to difficulties of supervision, enrolment and attendance figures are sometimes faked. The average registered attendance is only about 75 per cent. of the enrolment.[1] Of those in attendance comparatively few complete the course. Those who do not complete it contribute little to the literacy of India. Even those who complete it are sometimes so handicapped by the ineffective instruction that relapse into illiteracy is possible. It is facts such as these that necessitate a reference to literacy rather than school enrolment figures in estimating the present position of mass education, and that explain the appallingly slow progress revealed by literacy statistics.

Even more misleading, so far as the battle against illiteracy is concerned, are the figures relating to expenditure. From 1885 to 1907 the expenditure on elementary education increased steadily and from 1907 to 1922 very rapidly. In the five years preceding 1922, the increase amounted to 70 per cent. against an increase of only 60 per cent. for secondary education. But up to the close of the nineteenth century the increase was largely due to the provision of facilities for the castes and classes which by tradition and occupation desired education and had always by hook or by crook achieved a reasonable stand of literacy. What public money did was to substitute an organised system of schools, maintained by or aided from public funds and under regular inspection, for the miscellaneous methods by which these " literary " castes and classes had previously secured instruction. Simultaneously the development of secondary education necessitated the creation of primary departments and feeder schools to secondary schools. Expenditure on such purposes was justifiable in so far as it regularised and improved education. But it did not increase substantially the number of literates. Such increase as could be traced was due to the development of government departments,

trade, and industries, and the consequent increase in the demand for literate workers, rather than to activity on the part of the educational authorities. The steady growth in the number of pupils was due partly to the same cause. It was also due to the extension of facilities to meet the local demands of the " literary " castes. But it was due mainly to the conversion of schools or classes maintained on an irregular and precarious footing by mosques and temples, trading communities and enterprising zemindars or village officers, into schools recognised, maintained or aided, and inspected by the Government or Local Boards. Pupils in such " converted " institutions were for the first time fully and carefully numbered. Many schools and classes remained in the unconverted stage and were ranked as " private " institutions; rough attempts were made to estimate the number of their pupils. Every year the government conscience was salved by an increase in " public " institutions due to the conversion of more " private " institutions. But the movement indicated no extension of education to classes hitherto untouched and no growth of a demand for education among such classes.

This policy of absorption and improvement seems to have met with general approval up to the close of the nineteenth century. It met the demands of government departments, trade, and industry, provided facilities where required and produced statistics of steady increase in expenditure and registered pupils to satisfy the home authorities, who since 1854 had been reminding the Indian Government of its obligations. The Hunter Education Commission of 1882 recognised a need for acceleration, but made no drastic or revolutionary proposals. Their recommendation for an increase of ten lakhs of rupees in the annual budget for education shows that they contemplated no revolutionary campaign. Thirty years later, when the budget had already grown to an extent that would have amazed that Commission, Mr. Ghokhale pleaded for an additional expenditure of 5½

crores of rupees. The amount recommended by the Commission would have meant an increase of only about 100,000 pupils. Between 1917 and 1922 there was an increase of 342,000 pupils, and that was regarded as most unsatisfactory and without any appreciable effect on literacy.

In fact, during the restful nineteenth century the problem of creating a demand for education, or of extending it in the absence of such demand, did not seriously exercise the authorities. The fundamentally wrong theory of " Filtration," the belief in the gradual awakening of a demand among the illiterate after the literate castes had received higher education, which Macaulay and Trevelyan had fostered, acted as an opiate. It must be remembered also that free and compulsory education was finally established at home only thirty years before the close of the century.

With the twentieth century came a radical change. Lord Curzon, after a quinquennium of stagnation owing to famine and economic distress, aroused the public conscience and the education authorities. The Government of India emphasised in no doubtful tones through its resolution of 1904 the need for an aggressive campaign. This was followed up by princely grants from imperial to provincial funds for expansion. School buildings grew, and too often disappeared, like mushrooms. Harassed subordinates prepared maps and schemes and went round begging villages to accept schools. The most influential revenue officers were ordered to " exert their influence," and those who were eager for promotion made house to house visitations for possible pupils. Directors of public instruction were goaded into spending lakhs of rupees on buildings, furniture, and training of teachers before grants " lapsed " at the close of the year according to the mysterious rites of the audit department. As a result of this activity the increase of pupils was far larger between 1907 and 1912 than it had ever been in any preceding quinquennium. There was no consequent slackening of zeal. Mr. Ghokhale opened in 1910 his campaign for

free and compulsory education. The King Emperor in his Durbar speech of 1912, with a metaphorical aptness that pleased India, expressed his desire for "a net-work of schools" throughout the length and breadth of the land. For a short space every one who hoped for a title or promotion was mobilised as a "fisher of men" and net-making proceeded. But in vain was the net spread. The figures for 1912-17 showed, it is true, a record increase in the number of institutions, but also a serious and significant fall in the number of pupils per institution and a decline in the rate of increase of pupils. It became clear that there had been for some years past sufficient schools for all those in India who by occupation and tradition required them. The existing demand had been met, and such further extension as was being effected was due mainly to the application of official pressure and intensive propaganda to castes and classes naturally and traditionally averse to education. Wherever official pressure was relaxed, and such relaxation became frequent among officials overwhelmed by war work, recruiting and propaganda, and continually criticised in press and councils for "arbitrary and oppressive action," numbers fell in the newly opened schools. The number of schools went on growing and the number of pupils per school continued to fall. Attendance became more irregular and scholastic results more unsatisfactory. The authorities were at last face to face with the real problem of mass education. In the absence of any demand for more schools and with no powers of compulsion, further progress must become each year more slow, more costly and less effective. Additional teachers must be employed for ever-dwindling classes, the time taken for completion of the course must increase with growing irregularity of attendance. And while with such a system each teacher's capacity for producing literates was restricted, his salary was rising steadily with the increase in the cost of living.

It will be seen then that, while the increase in expendi-

ture up to 1900 was the result of opening schools or providing more regular and better instruction for those who wanted education, the more rapid increase since that date has been due to a genuine and determined,but hardly effective ,attempt to popularise education among classes that do not want it. The increase has been due also to increase in the salaries of teachers and in all other miscellaneous charges connected directly or indirectly with the cost of living. And a laudable desire to improve the quality of work and to educate and train a more effective type of teacher has also helped to swell the expenditure. The annual cost per pupil has risen from Rs. 5 to Rs. 8·2, and if the present system is continued this cost will grow steadily, as schools and classes become smaller, with the establishment of schools in areas and among classes more resolutely opposed to education.[1]

It had become clear by 1917 that any further advance on a voluntary system must be not only very slow, as had been emphasised by Ghokhale, but also financially and scholastically very wasteful and ineffective. A system that would not substantially increase the literacy of India in fifty years stood condemned as financially impracticable in a poor country. There was an inevitable tendency to reconsider Ghokhale's scheme for compulsory education, which a few years before had been shelved by the Government of India as premature and impracticable. The history of the quinquennium 1917-22 centres round such schemes. Though statistically there has been no increase in the rate of progress and very little advance in literacy, the period is conspicuous for the zest with which schemes for compulsion have been discussed and for experiments in the direction of a less wasteful system of expansion than the present. It cannot be claimed that the financial problem of the gradual extension of compulsory education has yet been resolutely faced in any province, or that any provincial Government or group of politicians has been bold enough to put forward any proposal for a general increase in provincial taxes or

local rates for this purpose. But a statutory basis has been provided by legislation in almost every province, authorising local bodies to prepare schemes for compulsion within their areas, to introduce them, if approved by the provincial Government, and to levy special or additional rates for the purpose. Among the influential men on provincial councils and local boards there is a growing feeling in favour of compulsion, coupled unfortunately with a strong reluctance to accept responsibility for any financial measures that would rouse widespread antagonism and involve them in unpopularity.

In these circumstances it is not surprising that local bodies have been slow to take advantage of this permissive legislation. The report for 1922-23 shows that thirty-one such authorities have introduced or obtained sanction for schemes covering all or part of their areas. The present tendency seems to be towards introducing compulsion for boys in areas where only a small minority of the population is averse to education, and to concentrate additional expenditure on securing full classes and regular attendance within these areas. Waste is thereby avoided and a more effective type of instruction secured with a minimum of local resentment. But the effect of such a policy on the general standard of literacy must necessarily be small. Practicable measures for tackling the agricultural classes in small villages, the depressed classes, and the female population have not been devised. No substantial advance will be possible until funds on a very large scale have definitely been secured and ear-marked for the purpose, and until responsibility for raising these funds has finally been attached either to the provincial Government or to the local bodies or in a fixed proportion to each of these two classes of authority. So far only one provincial Government has assumed by legislation powers to compel local bodies to introduce compulsion or to take upon itself that duty in default of the local body. The exercise of such power is obviously impossible in the

absence of any financial arrangements. And only two provincial Governments have laid on themselves a statutory obligation to contribute a fixed portion of the cost of any approved scheme. This obligation is also valueless at present, since the approval of schemes will depend on the existence of provincial funds to meet the cost of contribution.

The need for a definite financial policy on which to base steady and determined progress towards universal compulsion cannot be urged too strongly. India is too poor to afford any further extension based solely or mainly on the present wasteful voluntary system. It may be many years before work on a voluntary system can altogether be abandoned. But funds for extension on a compulsory system must be the first consideration. Only after they have been found and reserved should the amount available for improvement and extension on a voluntary basis be determined.

We have tried to show generally the extravagance and ineffectiveness of the voluntary system owing to irregular admission, attendance, and school hours, the swollen lower classes and sparsely attended upper classes, and the prolongation of time required for completion of the course. But to bring out more clearly the defects, it is necessary to remind ourselves that India is essentially a land of small villages ; it is in these small villages, inhabited mainly by castes and classes opposed to education, that the battle for literacy has mainly to be waged and that the wasteful methods of the present system are most clearly seen. A few figures will make this clear.

We may assume that the economic attendance for a school is 100 and that, if these 100 were to attend regularly and receive effective instruction, a course satisfying the present needs of India could be completed in four years. Under a compulsory system, with precise regulations for the age of admission and leaving, this number of pupils would be grouped in four classes of 25 each, one class for each school year and one teacher for each class. At the present rate of

salaries the annual salary bill for such a school would amount to about Rs. 1500 per annum, and the annual number of pupils completing the course would be 25. Completion of a course on such a system ought to ensure life literacy. The cost per literate, reckoned on teachers' salaries alone, would then be Rs. 60.

But we find that the average number of pupils per primary school in India is not 100, but only 42. And this very low average is obtained from schools situated mainly in towns and large villages, not in the small villages where most of India's population lives and which are, at present, most inadequately supplied with schools. During the last quinquennium an increase of 13,000 schools gave an increase of only 342,000 pupils, and this average of 26 pupils per new school will fall under a voluntary system extended over areas of increasing hostility. Taking, however, the present average of 42 pupils per school, and reminding ourselves of the conditions prevalent under a voluntary system, we may estimate the annual out-turn of pupils who have completed the course in such a school at 3. The three lowest classes would probably contain the remaining pupils, 20 of whom would be in the infant class. For the instruction of this number a staff of more than two teachers would be thought excessive. But their work distributed over at least four years and disturbed by irregular attendance is ineffective. There is no guarantee that the three passed pupils will not relapse into illiteracy. Assuming hopefully that they will not, and estimating the annual cost of the two teachers at Rs. 720, we find the cost per literate of a school, with the average enrolment provided under the present system, is Rs. 240, which is four times the cost per literate on the economic minimum of 100 under a compulsory system.[1] This difference in cost is even more marked if we add to the teachers' salary bill such items as the cost of their training and the cost of erecting, maintaining, and equipping school buildings. When we consider the millions in India who

have to be raised to literacy this difference in cost becomes appalling.

In towns and larger villages, where the literary castes and classes are strong, the obstacles in the way of reaching the economic minimum strength on a voluntary system are not perhaps insuperable. They have not yet been removed but may yield to the pressure of public opinion, propaganda work, and scientific grouping of schools. But no such efforts, backed though they may be by official pressure and support of local " bigwigs," can possibly overcome these difficulties in the small villages. Of the total village population 82 per cent. live in villages with less than 2000 inhabitants. If all the boys of school-going age in a village of 2000 attended school, the enrolment would not exceed 140. On the present voluntary basis the total number would rarely exceed 45, or the annual number of passed candidates 3. What then are the numerical and economic prospects of villages with less than 500 whose residents are 33 per cent. of the total number ?

The only way to meet the problem of the small villages is to group them for school purposes, making one central school with a full course for an area, and arranging feeder schools, which must serve as a rule more than one village, from which the central school is to be fed. But such grouping has been found useless on a voluntary system. It involves daily journeys to school of a length that deters all but those who really want education, and they are rarely to be found in these villages. A school more than half a mile away is outside the thought and life of a village parent. Geographical and climatic difficulties are insuperable. Rivers, at certain seasons flooded, may have to be faced, the hardships of the monsoon and hot weather must be considered, the rough tracks connecting villages are heavy going in the rains and infested in imagination or reality by depredators. Again and again have schools been established in small villages by zealous landlord or village officer,

anxious for reward or the education of his family, on the understanding that they will be supported by surrounding villages. And again and again have these expectations been fruitless. The economic provision of effective education for rural areas must be on a compulsory basis.

If no practicable scheme on this basis can be devised and financed, the tendency to cut losses and concentrate on the development and improvement in the towns and large villages will be inevitable and financially justified. But such concentration, while doing comparatively little for the extension of literacy, will widen the gulf between town and country, intelligentsia and agriculturist. It will mean the permanent adoption of a system which gets most of its funds from agriculturists and spends them almost exclusively on urban residents of the official, commercial, and professional classes. There will be growing resentment among the agriculturists as they are reminded by agitators of this fact. Nor will there be wanting critics to remind the Government that all that they have achieved by their vast expenditure of public funds is the education of castes and classes that in pre-British days obtained all the instruction required by their occupation without any cost to the general public.

The first step towards a financial policy for compulsion must be the acceptance by each provincial Government of financial responsibility for a certain minimum of education within each local board area. This minimum must provide for periodic expansion on a compulsory basis, but will vary according to the needs and conditions of each area. To provide these minimum facilities the Government must determine the amount to be raised locally by rates and the contribution to be made from provincial funds by provincial taxation. It would be left open to any local body, which has provided the minimum on a compulsory basis as determined by the Government, to spend any additional funds it possesses or wishes to raise on further extension on a compulsory or voluntary basis. And any further provincial

funds available for the purpose could be given as grants in aid towards such supplementary schemes. But all this would be supplementary to the primary task of furthering extension through compulsion in accordance with a definite scheme that only the Government, viewing the needs of the province as a whole, can devise.

What has actually happened during the last twenty years has been very different from this. The extension and improvement of education has depended mainly on grants from the provincial Government, or from the central Government of India through the provincial Government, to local bodies that have been responsible for their expenditure. The distribution of these grants has been thoroughly unsystematic. Such schemes as were required prior to distribution have been generally vague and sketchy, prepared without reference to any general policy or instructions. No attempt has been made to adjust the claims of various areas and classes, or to decide whether progressive areas with a growing demand deserved more or less than backward areas where the absence of demand necessitated more costly methods. No systematic attempt has been made to encourage local bodies to increase their own funds by promises of a *pro tanto* provincial contribution. The comparative claims of extension and improvement have not been weighed.

Recently there have been signs of more scientific procedure. The creation in Madras of *ad hoc* educational boards in each district, with statutory powers to distribute all funds, raise additional funds and prepare schemes for extension, is encouraging. But the assumption of final responsibility by the provincial Government can alone provide the necessary foundation. It is useless to leave the initiative to local bodies, which are usually ready to spend any extra funds that the Government may give and reluctant to undertake what will raise their rates above those of similarly situated local bodies. It is for the Government to prescribe the minimum provision and the minimum

expenditure from local funds, and to determine the steps by which the balance for the provinces as a whole may be raised through provincial taxation. Firm action of this kind would have been possible in the nineteenth century atmosphere of benevolent despotism, but could not have been attempted by the fiercely criticised, deeply suspected, and constantly misinterpreted Government of the first two decades of this century. There are no political objections to its being followed by the present Government at the instigation of that half of it which is representative and indigenous. But it is doubtful whether any form of indigenous government will have the necessary courage except an undisguised autocracy. It is significant that compulsion has been initiated and carried furthest in the Indian State of Baroda under a keen and autocratic ruler.

In addition to a definite financial policy, resolutely prescribed by the provincial Government, a more systematic survey of the field to be won and of methods for keeping down the expenditure is an essential condition of steady progress. This however is possible only after the funds available for a definite period have been precisely fixed. Time and energy have been wasted in the preparation of schemes that have been necessarily vague and obviously unreal in the absence of this information. When once the amount is known, areas in the field that seem strategically promising have to be selected, and within such areas a complete register of the school-going population has to be made; this population has to be distributed among schools grouped on economical principles and the cost of staff, both training and maintenance, as well as capital expenditure on buildings, determined. The additional expenditure on administration and inspection must not be forgotten nor the need for machinery to investigate and enforce school attendance.

Many who have read thus far will be tempted to regard all such procedure as waste of time, arguing that racial characteristics and local conditions in India, apart from all

financial consideration, make widespread compulsion impossible. The aversion to education is so marked in rural areas, and the geographic, climatic, and economic conditions so unfavourable, that absentees will be too numerous to be dealt with. A board of school attendance officers, corrupt and extortionate, will be added to the other plagues of village life, and the only result will be bitter resentment and occasional riots. Penal action against defaulting parents will be rare. Local bodies that are sentimentally opposed to action against evaders of rates will certainly not be vigorous against poverty-stricken peasants who urge inability to spare their children from field work.

These difficulties are in no way imaginary. It is only reflection on the wasteful and quite ineffective alternative system that now prevails which encourages us to face them. It must be remembered that steady progress in the direction of compulsion in Ceylon has raised the percentage of the population enrolled in schools to 8 which is more than double the Indian percentage. If it is urged that part of this island is Buddhist and therefore predisposed to education, while the other part consists of progressive Hindus, we may turn to the Indian State of Baroda where a species of compulsion has been in force since 1907.

Compulsion has been partially and experimentally attempted in this State since 1893.[1] The early efforts were ambitious but unsystematic, aiming at quantity rather than quality. The census results of 1911 suggested that no appreciable effect was being produced on the general standard of literacy, and further investigation pointed to considerable waste of funds, attendance registers swollen by habitual absentees, and a large number of small and hopelessly inefficient schools. These were closed in 1916 and a more intensive policy was inaugurated, attention being concentrated on raising by compulsion the attendance in towns and more progressive areas and ensuring well-filled classes and economy of staff. The age at which compulsion

begins was raised and the period of compulsion lengthened. Unfortunately two years of economic distress followed during which compulsion had to be suspended, but progress since 1918 in the areas of concentration seems to have been satisfactory. In the city of Baroda, 41 per cent. of the total population over 5 years of age was literate in 1921, and only Madras, Rangoon, and Calcutta surpassed it in this respect. But it is significant that in none of those towns had compulsion been tried. It is confidently expected that within ten years the total town population between 7 and 15 years of age will be literate.

The census superintendent of Baroda considers that compulsion has by now produced a marked result on the total literacy of Baroda State. The number of literates over 5 years of age is 14 per cent., or nearly double that for India as a whole. But it must be remembered that the average for India is greatly lowered by a few very backward provinces. Comparison with progressive provinces where compulsion has not been tried is not so unfavourable to the British authorities. Moreover, the census superintendent emphasises the unequal distribution of efficacy. The towns have benefited, but 41 per cent. of the villages have no educational facilities, even in adjacent villages. The lettered classes, artisans and superior agriculturists have become more literate. But the rural masses are but slightly affected and the out-castes not at all. It is significant that there was in 1920 a large fall in school enrolment owing to " the removal from the school registers and putting in separate lists the names of ' compulsory ' children who remained continuously absent ".

British India, in the Punjab and elsewhere, is slowly following this intensive policy of concentration on comparatively progressive areas. The Baroda results suggest that the gradual extension of compulsion in such areas will be effective and economical. Unfortunately Baroda has failed in that part of its programme which we have been emphasising as the

most important part and that in which compulsion alone can achieve anything, namely in the more backward rural areas. Here we cannot get from them either inspiration or advice. It is interesting, however, to note that the ages of compulsion are 8 to 14 for boys and 8 to 12 for girls. Whether permanent literacy can be achieved by girls in four years with the type of teaching usually found in girls' schools has still to be tested. In compulsory areas punishment for non-attendance takes the form of fines, the police are not invoked and penal measures are left to revenue officers or committees. The very substantial proceeds from fines are devoted to school buildings and the subsidising of those conscientious parents who are economically afflicted by compulsion.

Before leaving Baroda we must note the very pertinent warning of the census superintendent that this intensive policy of concentration on progressive areas and classes tends to accentuate the cleavage between town and country, educated classes and masses. If the Baroda policy is followed too faithfully in British India, the dangers of this cleavage, to which attention has been drawn in the first part of this book, will become painfully apparent. The masses cannot safely be ignored.

Nothing at least that is known about Baroda suggests that compulsion, discreetly applied, is quite impracticable or politically dangerous. It is clearly a system in which fanatic zeal would reap its own and appropriate reward. No sane man for instance would work as school attendance officer in parts of the north-west frontier province, where even the hardy census enumerators shrink from insulting a resident by suggesting that he may be literate. But a system which enlisted the interest of village panchayats and, in large towns, social service societies or ward committees, and which exacted ruthlessly fines for non-attendance, not from individual parents, but from the village or caste community concerned, might substantially raise the school attendance in carefully selected areas and stiffen public opinion in favour

of widening the field of experiment. Above all the Government must show that it means business and a strong bid must be made through the pocket, and by wise selection of teacher and courses, for the support of the village community. What has been accomplished within the knowledge of the writer by one enterprising and unscrupulous collector of a district for a period of two years, through the agency of zealous subordinates and local magnates, in the direction of forcing into school the children of the most jungly and backward district of the Central Provinces can be permanently achieved by co-operation of officials and leading zemindars in measures legalised, financed, and encouraged by the Government.[1]

Apart from the formulation of a financial policy and orderly surveys of the field of battle, there is much that can be done to make compulsion, when it comes, less of a burden to the taxpayer and parent and more effective in its working. Much has already been done on the lines that we shall now describe. While emphasising the usefulness of such measures with reference to a compulsory system, we shall expose the fallacy of regarding them as in any sense substitutes for such a system.

The course of instruction can to some extent be popularised. It must not be supposed that efforts in this direction will of themselves induce the villager to send his children to school and thereby make compulsion unnecessary. An illiterate population cannot be convinced of the benefits of education by anything inside the school. Such conviction might follow satisfactory proof that the qualities at which education aims are those which make the children more skilful, willing, and productive workers. But technical instruction is beyond the scope of these schools. The useful qualities of character that a sound general education imparts are too subtle and difficult of discernment for the simple-minded rustic. And they are not in fact produced by the only kind of teaching that the present voluntary

system permits. Nor is any course of instruction calculated to impress the village possible under such a system. But in a school regularly attended, properly organised and adequately taught, something to make the work more palatable to the parents might be attempted.

Nor again must it be supposed that such popularity can be won by connecting the courses more closely with the industrial and agricultural pursuits of the parents. They have no faith in the power of the primary school teacher to impart more technical skill than their children will inevitably gain from experience in the shop or field and the teaching of their elders. And their want of faith is fully justified. Expert agricultural opinion is opposed to specialised agricultural instruction in village primary schools. Competent and experienced teachers cannot be secured, the expense is prohibitive, and there is no time for it. Most attempts at it have been superficial and justly ridiculed by the villages. Some success has been attained in middle schools in the Punjab, where pupils who have passed the primary course are given agricultural instruction, *inter alia*, on small farms attached to the school by carefully selected teachers trained by the agricultural department. But similar experiments elsewhere have been a failure, and one cannot help attributing their popularity in the Punjab to the fact that English is also taught in such schools.

It is agreed that, in the absence of technical instruction, something can be done to adapt the curriculum and methods to local needs and circumstances. Village schools can be " ruralised " by the provision of teachers carefully instructed in nature study, and able to impart such knowledge theoretically in connexion with the school reader and practically in the school garden. Such teachers are in fact being turned out now by training schools, which include in their staff nature study instructors taught by the agricultural department. And some of the inspecting staff are being trained to supervise and encourage the work of such teachers.

Similarly teachers can be and are being trained to teach the elementary principles of hygiene and to apply these principles practically to the school's surroundings and persons of their pupils. Similar instruction in the rudiments of civics, in the work of co-operative credit societies and the various government departments and village officers, is being attempted. The present tendency in fact is to reduce the number of separate subjects, such as geography, history, and elementary mathematics, and to aim at sound instruction in the three R's with useful information of a local character and the practical application of such information.

All this is so much to the good. But again it is far from enlisting the interest or support of the villagers. Efforts in the school garden are ridiculed or resented. If manual work is good for the boy there is plenty waiting for him in the parents' field. That the teacher should use his labour, presumably to fill the teacher's pocket and stomach or to satisfy an inspector, gives no satisfaction. Other attempts at adaptation are ignored or misunderstood. Why should school and home be brought into contact ? The only reason for sending a boy to school is surely that it is totally different from his home.

What the villager really requires of a school, if a school is to be forced on him, is sound instruction in the three R's for protection in " bazaar " transactions and on railway journeys or pilgrimages, for the understanding of the mysterious demands of tax-collectors, for the out-witting of extortionate officials, and for the writing of petitions and reading of the replies thereto. To these demands on the utilitarian side is often added the cultural requirement of greater familiarity with the vernacular versions of the great Indian classics, such as the Ramayana and Mahabharata, so that the family circle may be enlivened by recitation or reading. In Mohammedan circles there is a demand for instruction in the Koran and stories of Islamic saints and heroes. The inclusion in the curriculum of English, for commercial pur-

poses and transactions with the highest grades of officials, is in many parts an additional inducement. In the more advanced areas, and particularly in the Madras Presidency, it is often claimed as a necessity. To these requirements is added the general condition that the school shall not unfit a boy for hard industrial work or make him less obedient and contented with his lot.

These requirements differ from those attributed above to the educational authorities mainly in the omission of " useful and appropriate information " for which there is practically no demand. It ought not to be difficult to evolve a comparatively simple course, within the scope of properly trained teachers, that would satisfy both educationalists and parents. More particularly is it desirable that something should be done on the cultural side to please the parents. A determined effort has already been made in the preparation of a set of vernacular " readers " for one province containing, in addition to useful information, tales from the Indian classics and from local folk lore.[1] The results seem on the whole to have been satisfactory, and the " readers " have been introduced in other provinces with the same vernacular. A necessary condition is that there shall be alternative readers of similar cultural purpose for use in predominantly Mohammedan and Christian schools. And a real difficulty arises in the case of " readers " for schools which contain in all classes representatives of more than one of these three great classes. The preparation of a book that will do justice to the cultural claims of any one religion without giving offence to the others presents difficulties that have not yet been overcome. Similar difficulty is felt in meeting the Mohammedan desire for religious instruction. There is at present a tendency to allow in schools maintained by local bodies for all classes religious instruction within the school building, if given out of school hours and on a voluntary basis. Small use has however been made of such facilities, and it seems probable that the Mohammedan community realises the truth that

there is little value in religious instruction given in an atmosphere that is not essentially religious. Separate instruction, outside the school, is usually provided for pupils in " mixed " schools. In the Hindu world, which knows no creed nor dogma, there is no wide demand for such instruction. The Christian missions provide it invariably for Christian pupils in their own schools and cater for the needs of the comparatively few Christian pupils in " mixed " schools by instruction in Christian hostel or in Sunday school.

The demand for English is educationally unsound, in so far as competent instruction in such a subject is obviously beyond the means and the time at the disposal of elementary schools. Moreover, there is no subject more calculated to draw away boys from industrial pursuits to clerical and sedentary work. On financial grounds alone it must be excluded from village schools unless, as sometimes happens, its cost is met by special fees or subscriptions. In towns the public demand will probably make a gradual extension of the subject inevitable. If it can be confined to the higher grade schools and continuation courses for those who have passed the primary course no great harm will be done.

More important perhaps than any adaptation of the curriculum, in the popularisation of mass education, is a recent movement towards making the school a real and integral part of the life of the community which it is trying to serve, and the school teacher a more influential and respected member of that community. Records of early days suggest that the teacher prior to 1835, though perhaps a less effective teacher than he is to-day, was a far greater man in the village world.[1] Unintelligible possibly to many of his pupils, he was often respected for his real or imaginary Sanskrit or Persian lore. Barbarous in his discipline and arbitrary in his dealings with parents, he was able to impose his own conditions. Teaching what the parents wanted, and supported by the community with ample though casual gifts, in kind rather than money, he was regarded as part of their world. There

was a mutual feeling of responsibility and obligation. The teacher was a local man and approved by local feeling.

In these days, when the teacher is too often a stranger imposed by external authority, paid from mysterious sources beyond the community's control, and teaching " subjects " for which they have not asked, he excites no interest and enlists no support from the community. The old conditions cannot be restored, though some of the more pleasing features such as contributions in kind might be revived if the schools' usefulness were recognised. What can be done, and is being attempted here and there by Christian missions and to a less extent by social service leagues and co-operative credit societies, is to make the school a recognised centre of work for the welfare of the whole community.[1] For instance the village school building and garden might be used freely for demonstration work by lecturers of the agricultural department and co-operative credit societies, and the teachers might take a subordinate part in such work and organise subsequent discussion and assist in the application of what has been taught. Or the teacher could make himself more useful and pleasant in village life by reading to circles in the evening the more popular portion of Indian classics, by story telling and by excerpts from the vernacular press and departmental bulletins. Even the postal work which in small villages is undertaken for a small fee by the schoolmaster has done something to bring him into touch with village life. Usually, however, he is a sad-looking man of depressed vitality, standing aloof from a strange world and shrinking naturally from the faction and intrigue which too often poison village life.

If the teacher is to be recognised as a decorative and useful member of the community, a real part of its economic and cultural life, he ought to be a local man, belonging to a caste or class with traditions and associations that predominate in the area, and selected by the community he is to serve. In his education and training care must be taken

to keep alive these traditions and to emphasise those features of communal life which he can help to develop. This has been lost sight of in the desire to obtain by competitive examination the most intelligent and highly educated candidates for the training schools. There has been a tendency to prefer "failed matriculates," ready for the sake of a living to face work and surroundings with which they are out of sympathy, to less advanced but more appropriate candidates. The rapid extension of schools maintained by local bodies has resulted in the formation of cadres of teachers who are posted, not in accordance with local requirements, but to suit official exigencies. A teacher is selected for a post because he has reached a particular grade, or is transferred "for disciplinary reasons" from a village where he is at home to an alien place. No real advance towards popularity is possible till the appropriateness of a teacher to school surroundings and community is made the first consideration.

Careful attention to local conditions is practicable in schools maintained by missions or other benevolent societies, and in this class of school it is compatible with stability and effective management and control. When we come to the second great class of schools, those maintained by the "teacher manager," who not only teaches but is solely responsible for the maintenance of the school out of which he makes his living, or by local committees without educational experience and with insufficient leisure or funds, we find the conditions favourable for selection of the right type of teacher but unfavourable for stability, sound management, or suitable provision for the adequate training and education of the selected teacher. This class of school is still very common in Madras and Bombay Presidencies, but even there, and still more in the other parts of India, is giving way slowly but steadily to the third class of school maintained by local bodies. This class is stable and comparatively regular in its attendance and methods, adequately housed and calculated as a rule to impress both the casual observer and

the inspecting officer by its order and method. But a heart to heart talk with the elders of the community or prolonged inspection will reveal its lack of hold on the communal life.

In the rural tracts even more than in urban areas, owing to the absence of squire and parson who with all their faults have brought school and village world together, it seems essential to make such changes as will combine the stability of the board school system with the local flavour of the teacher manager system. The basis of such combination would perhaps be the development of school committees under the general control of the local body, the selection of the teacher by the committee and, in return for this deference to local opinion, periodical contributions in kind by the community towards the support of the teacher. The writer can remember a time when it was customary over large parts of Madras for the teacher manager to lead his pupils with songs and dances round the local area at a particular festival for the receipt of such contributions. The investment of the community with real duties and privileges in respect of its school would make it possible even for board school teachers to revive this practice. It is true that school committees have for some time been constituted by local bodies in many parts of India with but small results. Their failure has perhaps been due to their position being essentially advisory and critical rather than executive and responsible.

Much has been written about the need for adapting school hours and holidays to industrial needs and seasonal demands. It is doubtful whether any further concessions in this direction are possible. In most parts it is customary in rural areas to close the schools during the busiest times of sowing and harvesting. Local festivals are always honoured by a holiday, and in some parts every new moon and full moon releases pupils from school for ceremonial purposes. A system of " half-time " schools was devised by which the agricultural pupils should complete their schooling by ten or eleven in the morning and have the rest

of the day for field work. But in fact the village school, far from being a half-time school, is a whole-time school so far as the teacher is concerned. He remains on duty all day and the pupils drift in when other more peremptory occupations permit. If the boys are wanted by their parents, it is more often for such occupations as cattle tending, which take the whole day, than for half-day pursuits. Few villagers who dislike, for economic reasons, education are beguiled by manipulation of school hours. On the other hand under a compulsory system hours and times can be arranged systematically. Regular attendance and effective instruction would make a three-hour school day possible for the pupil, and the division of a school into morning and afternoon classes would economise the supply of teachers and meet with popular approval.

A plentiful supply of women teachers for the lower classes of elementary schools, such as is found in most European countries and the United States, would eventually mean a large saving in staff expenditure and tend to make the school a more homely place, in close touch with communal life and thought. Indian conditions make the employment of unmarried women impossible, and of widows undesirable. In view of the difficulty of securing women teachers for girls' schools their employment in boys' schools may seem an absurd suggestion. But very much could be done, and in Christian mission schools is being done, to educate and train the teachers' wives for service in these schools. More particularly is there scope, in the Hindu world, for the more elderly wives who have passed the stage of bearing and bringing up children. In Christian schools the influence of such women has been most salutary.

And lastly a more appropriate type of inspecting officer is required for the popularisation of mass education. He must be selected with the same care and on the same principles as the teacher. A sympathetic understanding of communal life in the areas under his control is more important than a

high standard of general intelligence or educational attainments. The tendency of the last twenty years has been to appoint graduates of keen intelligence and often with a genuine desire to " push " education. But they have been brought up in surroundings and associations entirely different from those of the schools they are to serve. They belong to an urban intelligentsia which is out of touch with industrial problems or village life. Far more effective work was done by the older type of officer, who had often not advanced beyond the matriculation standard but understood more clearly the attitude and life of rural and industrial communities.

The possibilities of adult education have recently been investigated. A special report on its development in England was published by the central educational bureau in 1922, and the central advisory committee for all India discussed its applicability to India in the same year. With the higher phase of this movement, namely the continuation of education on cultural or vocational lines for the literate who can find leisure from professional or industrial work for night classes or holiday courses, we are not here concerned. Though some interest has been roused in the possibilities of such work, and the need for it is unquestioned, systematic development is unlikely until the Universities have satisfied their more urgent needs and can find leisure and funds for extra-mural and extension work. On the workers' side there are as yet no signs of an Albert Mansbridge or a Workers' Educational Association.

But the provision of elementary night schools and classes for the illiterate or semi-literate adult industrial population has for some years past been attempted, with varying measures of success, and claims a brief reference in connexion with mass education. In the Punjab, Bengal, and Bombay co-operative credit societies have opened such classes with the encouragement and advice of the education authorities. In the Punjab there were in 1922 nearly 2000 students,

mainly agriculturists, in over a hundred such schools. In these provinces and elsewhere in India grants are often given to similar institutions founded by local boards and private enterprise. The total enrolment in Madras Presidency rose in five years from 17,000 to 58,000. But outside the sphere of work inspired and controlled by effective benevolent societies or missions, progress, apart from numbers, is apt to be superficial rather than real. The teaching is usually undertaken by day school teachers who add to their salaries the grants or fees that they receive. It is never difficult to get school accommodation, but lighting involves expense and is usually disastrously bad. A tendency to regard such schools as substitutes for day schools, and to admit children who are retained by their parents for wage-earning work during the day, requires careful watching and tactful resistance.

If the attendance at such classes were ten times what it is at present, and literacy could be guaranteed for all attenders, the annual addition of 500,000 adults to India's population would not involve any rapid or astounding increase in the percentage of literacy. But any development along these lines is obviously to be welcomed so long as it is not regarded as a substitute for the extension of child education. The attempts that are being made to interest students and the younger professional men in the work are most laudable. Apart from the advantages that literacy confers on the adult, it is calculated to arouse in him a desire to secure the same benefit for his children and to encourage, or refrain from denouncing, local educational enterprise.

There are three difficult problems, vitally connected with mass education, which require for their proper treatment technical and expert knowledge such as is outside the scope of this book. A brief reference to their important bearing on the financial aspect of our subject is necessary.

The training of teachers for elementary school work has claimed special attention and involved very large expenditure

of public funds during the last twenty years. The percentage of trained teachers, despite a very large increase in the total number of teachers, has risen steadily and there has been a marked improvement in the quality of training. The results are obvious and encouraging in the class work of the urban schools, and particularly in the schools that prepare pupils for a secondary course. With adequate supervision and encouragement, under conditions that ensure regular attendance and orderly organisation, the trained teacher has ample opportunities of displaying and developing his powers. In the village schools the conditions are so different and so depressing that trained teachers are apt to give up all attempts to apply what they have learned. Few of us, placed in charge of two or more classes of irregular and unwilling pupils and dependent for help and encouragement on one or two visits from inspectors during the year, would retain any enthusiasm. The natural tendency is to devote energy and time to impressing the minimum information required for completion of the course on the handful of pupils retained by intensive propaganda and house to house searches. In these circumstances there are not wanting critics who deprecate expenditure of sorely needed funds on the "luxury" of training. It would, they urge, be better to recognise facts and waste no money on imparting skill that cannot be exercised and is not necessary for the only kind of work that can be attempted.

The argument has much force when applied to the majority of schools for the masses on a voluntary system. Much of the present expenditure on training is undoubtedly wasted. More might perhaps be effected if the conditions of work in the ordinary village school could be remembered by the training school instructors, and if teachers were trained to tackle more scientifically the problems arising out of "the one teacher" school and local apathy. But it is only under a compulsory system that the fruits of training can be fully matured, and a compulsory system depends for its efficacy on

properly trained teachers. If it were financially possible and otherwise desirable to employ only teachers who had completed a University course, reasons of economy might justify dependence solely on their general education and intelligence. But since it is financially necessary and socially desirable to employ for the higher posts men who have merely completed a secondary school course, and for the lower posts men who have not advanced far beyond the primary course, a supplementary and specialised course is essential. It is rare to find among untrained men of this class the most rudimentary conception of collective teaching. Moreover, their general education can more appropriately be extended in training institutions where courses are adapted to their needs than in high schools or colleges. Special attention for instance can be devoted to hygiene, nature study, and civics. More time is usually devoted to such subjects than to methodology. Of abstract pedagogy there is very little. Methods are taught practically in the model school.

Expenditure on training then must be added to the other items of a compulsory system. And any attempt to reduce expenditure by shortening the course or lowering the standard of admission must be ruled out as ultimately wasteful and unproductive. Bitter experience has shown that it is useless to train those who have not carried their general education at least two years beyond the primary course which they are supposed to teach, and that any training course of less than two years is ineffective. Recognition of this latter fact has called into existence a very useful type of higher elementary school, attended largely by would-be teachers but also by prospective village officers, compelled in many parts to add general education to their hereditary occupations, and candidates for admission to lower grade technical courses or clerical posts. It is in fact a grade of school which, if properly encouraged, may have a real vocational significance and provide just the atmosphere that future elementary school teachers require.

The second of the three problems relates to school accommodation. Here again there has been very great improvement of late. It was not many years ago that an outside observer reported that he would not keep his horse in the type of building that was used for elementary schools. Many of the schools under private Indian management are still held on verandahs or in temple or mosque precincts where sound instruction is impossible or, worse still, in miserable rooms and hovels where hygiene is disregarded and light and air are left out of account. But in mission and board schools, thanks to lavish expenditure of money, it is comparatively rare to find unhygienic conditions, and the number of airy and suitably planned buildings has been growing steadily.

But, in spite of much discussion and laudable readiness to experiment, a type of building which shall be cheap, permanent, and suitable has not yet been evolved, and the most effective agency for undertaking the work has not been determined. The official building agencies are too costly, private enterprise is effective only when it is very carefully supervised. The best results, perhaps, have been obtained through a local magnate, able to secure cheap labour and anxious to win official recognition by good and durable work.

The problem of providing and maintaining accommodation within a large area of compulsory education is colossal. On the financial side the necessity for public loans seems clear. It will probably be found necessary to impose statutory responsibility for building and repairs on the village community. Conditions regarding light and air must be laid down, but the choice of materials and type of structure may be left to the locality. There seems to be no reason why they should not use the materials customary for their private dwellings. Mud walls are cheap and not ineffective if they are repaired annually by local labour after any rains. It may be added that, under a compulsory system, one of

the main difficulties felt at present in school planning will disappear. Each classroom will be of the same size and fully occupied. It will no longer be necessary to provide for an infant class of fifty and three higher classes with a total enrolment of twenty.

The last of the three problems is perhaps insoluble but must always, till it is solved, retard and increase the cost of mass education. It is a linguistic problem. Many areas are bilingual, not a few are multilingual. It is often impossible within these areas to provide separate schools for each language. Where such separate schools exist they are usually below the economic minimum and therefore wasteful. Mohammedans as a rule demand all over India instruction in and through the medium of Urdu. In some towns of the Madras Presidency you will find five separate vernaculars represented in one school, and even in one class. The general tendency in this very sentimental land is to show the fullest tolerance to other languages and religions, provided due attention to one's own language is secured. It may be expected, therefore, that the cost of compulsory education will be very substantially increased by the linguistic difficulties, though, relatively, the difficulty may not be so keenly felt as it is now. An increase in enrolment will, in many cases, permit a more effective and economic grouping on linguistic lines than is now possible. It is certain, none the less, that there is no feature in Mr. Gandhi's programme that the economical educationalist more enthusiastically supports than the adoption of Hindi as the vernacular of India. But there seems at present almost more likelihood of English serving this purpose.

Finally we have to consider, in its bearing on mass education, the position of the " depressed classes," the hill and forest aboriginal races, and criminal tribes. The general attitude in India towards these classes and movements for their social and economic amelioration have been described in a previous chapter. The depressed or untouchable classes

include about sixty million persons, while aboriginals may amount to about sixteen millions. The existence of such masses, far less accessible for social and economic reasons to educational influence than any Hindu or Mohammedan community, and regarded with abhorrence, disdain, or fear by most of their countrymen, obviously constitutes a grave obstacle to the extension of literacy. The " untouchables," whom tradition, supported by religious sanction, restricts to the most menial and degrading occupations, the aboriginals, cut off by their natural surroundings and hereditary traits from industrial pursuits and all economic development, the criminal tribes segregated by reputation and racial instincts from the economic life of India, present, educationally, a problem which sorely perplexes those who are most eager to help, and which public opinion in India is only too ready to ignore as impertinent and insoluble.

The work that Christian missions for many years, and Hindu and undenominational social service missions in more recent years, have attempted among these classes has been noteworthy, and at times heroic. But perceptible progress has been made only among those who have been brought up as Christians in the Christian atmosphere of a mission settlement, or who are members of a community that has accepted Christianity and all that it implies culturally and economically, under the influence of the mass movement that is so widespread in South India. Out-castes who become Christians form part of a community which is yearly winning for itself the respect of India and a high reputation for educational zeal. Their educational future is secure. But the work that is being attempted with such devotion in the schools founded for, and in the centre of, groups of non-Christian out-castes is impeded to such an extent by the poverty and spiritual and material degradation of its surroundings and by the feeling of hopelessness, which local apathy or hostility inspires, that substantial results are impossible.

The weight of circumstances is even more of a drag on

the activities of provincial Governments and local boards. The determination of Government to tolerate no exclusion on grounds of caste from any institution maintained from public funds has been consistently emphasised for very many years. But anxiety to avoid local riots or the boycott of such institutions has often produced more discretion than zeal in the enforcement of this rule. It has been felt that zeal, with all the trouble that it involves, is but poorly repaid by the results. The number of out-castes that are anxious to take advantage of these schools is so pitifully small, and of the few who boldly face the unsympathetic atmosphere most disappear long before the completion of the course owing to economic pressure, lack of encouragement, and, too often, humiliating segregation within the school. Efforts have been made, particularly in South India, to provide special schools for these classes. As crêches, slightly more hygienic than the homes which have no room for them, they have yielded statistical results which have eased the official conscience. But very few pupils complete the course, and such schools have no appreciable effect on the literary or economic condition of out-castes. It is very difficult to get teachers. The number of out-castes of sufficient educational status is very small. Mohammedans and Indian Christians, who shrink from the work, though not so relentlessly as Hindus, are required for their own community schools. Few of them when employed can condescend to the squalor and appalling superstitions of the parents or cultivate a friendly and helpful attitude towards them. The policy of recognising and even emphasising by separate schools the barrier that excludes them from the Hindu world is open to grave question. Other methods for their elevation, such as the offer of special and higher grants in aid, the establishment of special training schools and appointment of special inspecting officers, have been equally ineffective. Outside the Madras Presidency, where results better on paper than in reality have been obtained, practically no progress

has been made. The official view of the results in the United Provinces is that they are " deplorably small ".

Abandonment of the enterprise by mission societies, Christian and otherwise, is inconceivable. Small as the results are, the work is a sign of, and fosters, the spirit of service and self-sacrifice which alone can vitalise such missions. Little by little it will advance if the workers convince the out-castes of their love and sympathy. But there is no chance of success except from work based on love which is essentially religious. The necessarily chilly efforts of Government and local bodies, dissociated from all religion, make no impression on these classes, and unless their heart is touched, energy, time, and public funds are wasted. It is possible that, as the compulsory system is gradually extended, fear of exposing the weakest side of Hindu life to the criticism of the non-Hindu world and to the withering eloquence of Mr. Gandhi and his followers may force the promoters of the system to include within it these classes. But it is quite certain that such an attempt will be culturally and economically fruitless and that it will arouse fierce resentment among the out-castes. Until the heart of India as a whole is touched and their attitude towards the question is changed, until Mr. Gandhi's efforts for the out-castes cease to draw on him protests from crowded and excited meetings, or until, as may be the case quite soon in South India, these classes, organising the strength which their numbers and virility confer on them, wrest by force for their class the rights that are withheld, there can be no hope of educational progress for them outside the Christian fold.

The case of the aboriginal tribes of hills and forests is somewhat different. Repulsive though some of their habits are to Hindus, they are not hopelessly cut off from them by religious sanction nor condemned by a social system to occupations that are to the orthodox degrading. Large numbers of them have in the course of history been absorbed within the Hindu social system, and the process still

continues. Their place within that system depends on the degree of reverence for, and obedience to, the Brahmin and the occupations that they assume. The difficulties of educating them in their pre-Hindu state are so great that the application of compulsion is almost inconceivable. But one can imagine them gradually in the course of ages being Hinduised and brought within the system. At present the only really substantial advance among them is being made by Christian missions, particularly in Assam where great enterprise has been shown in the reduction of several dialects to Roman script, and in the publication of educational books in those dialects. The efforts of public bodies are spasmodic and slight. Here and there one hears of a progressive subordinate inspector who takes the trouble to investigate their mode of life and learn their language. The writer has seen but one genuine aboriginal who has floored the primary examination and he was unfortunately drunk. A pessimistic deputy inspector of Assam recorded recently in his report that " while in other places the progress has been busily engaged at and it is moving about like other planets in the firmament it has been quite stationary here, just like the sun ". And there perhaps we may leave it.

Criminal tribes may perhaps be left out of account so far as compulsory education is concerned. First catch your hare. Some have their own reasons and plans for attaining literacy. Others achieve it in Reformatory schools where the efficacy of a compulsory system has for some time been demonstrated to India. The only really effective work among these tribes that has come to the notice of the writer is the settlement work carried out by the Salvation Army, the excellence of which has won the confidence and support of more than one provincial Government.

Our general conclusion regarding mass education is that it has reached a stage where wastefulness and sterility can be avoided only by a resolute policy directed towards the steady extension of compulsory education. The need for

such a policy is gaining ever-increasing recognition, and statutory permission for its introduction by local bodies is widely spread. Experiments are being begun and discussion is keen. But there are few signs yet of the foundations of a definite policy. The financial problem is not being squarely faced, and provincial Governments have not assumed the responsibility which few local bodies are prepared to assume. For the improvement of elementary education a vigorous and intelligent policy has for some time been accepted. But the defects of the voluntary system are such that the fruits of the policy can be seen only in schools attended regularly by representatives of the traditionally literary castes and classes, and particularly in schools that prepare these classes for higher education. In the industrial and agricultural population of India the harvest is lamentably small.[1]

CHAPTER XVI

EDUCATION AND THE HOME

Bearing of women's education on national life—Present condition deplorable—Growth of interest among intelligentsia—Large increase in expenditure—Unproductive—Short school life, irregularity, and bad teaching—Scarcity of teachers—Due to marriage customs—Employment of widows—Mixed education—Administrative and inspecting staff—Curriculum—Extravagant demands—Inflated courses and overstrain—Existing courses and possibilities—Reasons for high cost—All obstacles ultimately due to Indian view of women—Radical changes in marriage system required—And new attitude towards professional women—Zenana work—Possibilities and restrictions—Compulsion at present impracticable—In higher education steady advance probable on voluntary basis—In lower grades progress only in towns and supervised areas—Expenditure on remote unsupervised schools wasteful and demoralising—Concentration needed.

In the first part of this book attention was drawn to the position occupied by women in the social system of India, and to the vital importance of bringing them within the sphere of any scheme of education that is directed towards the development of that system. The disastrous results of ignoring this fact in the earliest stages of our enterprise were emphasised. The unreality of our educational work and its failure to touch more than the professional life of India were attributed partly to this cause. Figures were quoted to show the pitifully small effect produced by belated, though very conscientious, efforts to raise the standard of female literacy and rouse widespread interest in the subject. In discussing separately the political, economic, and cultural aspects of education we have had occasion to point out the obstacles to progress, arising out of practically half the population being illiterate. It has been shown that the absence of women teachers for the lower classes of boys' schools increases the financial burden of mass education

It remains to describe the chief difficulties that impede the progress which advanced public opinion now recognises as imperatively necessary, the steps that are being taken to overcome them, and the results of such steps. We must also discuss the propriety and possibility of special provision for girls in the gradual extension of the compulsory system which we have demanded as a general condition of mass education.

Theoretically, the leaders of political and economic life in India to-day are as zealous in the cause as the most ardent missionaries and officials. Conferences, resolutions in provincial councils, platform oratory and press references leave no room for doubting this. A deputation representing all types of Indian thought and activity drew the attention of Mr. Austen Chamberlain, as Secretary of State for India, to the urgency of the need, and secretariats groaned for several years under the volume of notes and resolutions that issued from this reminder.

Most of these leaders are animated by genuinely educational enthusiasm, which finds practical expression in the work of purely Indian societies, such as the Arya Samaj and Seva Sadan of Bombay. Added to this enthusiasm, or perhaps sometimes in place of it, is a desire to emulate the zeal of foreign missionaries and to remove the reproach which apathy has brought on them from the West. The potential influence of women on public affairs has been shown by such workers as Mrs. Besant, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, and Miss Cornelia Sorabji,[1] and the reputation of the last two outside India has appealed to racial pride. In five provinces the franchise has been extended to women by the vote of the provincial councils, and in one province women may be made by the council's vote eligible for election.[2] The appointment of the Begum of Bhopal as Chancellor of the Aligarh University, and her very real attention to the duties of this post, have reminded India that, if women can rule States, there are other spheres of public service open to

them. The emergence of a Brahmin lady graduate no longer excites the wonder that the first of such ladies aroused early in the century.[1] There is a growing tendency among professional men to search for wives who can rise culturally to their level.

With an ever-growing measure of support from educated circles a very noteworthy increase in expenditure on women's education has been found possible. The total has risen from £150,000 in 1880 and £600,000 in 1917, to more than £1,000,000 in 1922.[2] The results are by no means commensurate with this large increase. For reasons that will soon appear, the average cost per pupil in the higher grades is far heavier than in boys' education. And only a handful of pupils produced by this large expenditure remain long enough at school to receive any lasting benefit.

The total enrolment has grown from 150,000 in 1880 to 1,100,000 in 1917 and 1,300,000 in 1922. The present attendance in mission schools alone exceeds the total of all schools in 1880. But out of all these pupils only 636 completed successfully the secondary course in 1922. It is only in this very restricted sphere of secondary and collegiate education that substantial advance is to be found. In primary education, outside the large towns and groups of schools connected with and under the same supervision as secondary schools, irregular attendance and the absurdly short duration of school life rob the figures of all significance. In secondary education the numbers, though small, represent an increase of 30 per cent. among those who are really taking education seriously during the last five years. The corresponding increase in collegiate education has been 50 per cent. Owing to the small number of institutions, and the small size of the classes, the teaching and supervision are often more careful and effective than in male institutions. From 742 students of non-professional colleges in 1917 the number has risen to 1263. Six ladies, including three Hindus and one Mohammedan, took the M.A. degree in 1922 and 190 qualified

for the B.A. degree, against 56 in 1917. Of these 35, including 17 Hindus and Mohammedans, took Honours courses. In the town of Madras there are three ladies' colleges. A separate University for women, not claiming at present recognition or aid from the Government, has been established in Poona through the enterprise of Mr. Karve. The Lady Hardinge Medical College in Delhi draws 100 students from high schools all over India for medical training of University status.

The percentage of increase is startling but must not make us forget that we are only at the foot of the ladder. If Anglo-Indian, Indian Christian, and Parsee students were excluded, the small number of higher grade students would be substantially reduced. But we must thankfully admit that throughout most parts of the Madras Presidency and many parts of Bombay, as well as in large towns in other parts of India, higher education seems to have taken firm root and is growing steadily. Enthusiasm has spread from Indian Christian and Parsee to the most advanced sections of other communities. It is essentially the work of Christian missions that is bearing fruit, but in the larger centres the Government agency is also able to provide the necessary stimulus and supervision. The Seva Sadan in Bombay is showing, by the provision of hostels and lectures and other facilities, the extent to which Indian women can assist the progress and higher education of their sex. It is only when we come to primary education and work in the smaller towns and rural parts that we find apathy in the public, and something like despair in the workers.

First among the reasons for the almost desperate condition of mass female education is the difficulty of staff. In the higher grades the difficulty, though real, is not nearly so great owing to the small numbers, the availability of "unattached" European, Anglo-Indian, and Parsee ladies for these small numbers, and the possibility of securing, in the large centres to which higher education is confined, suitable

conditions and surroundings for the residence of such ladies. In the lower grade schools outside the large centres the universality of marriage and the wide prevalence of very early marriage make it almost impossible to employ unmarried women for the work. The general conditions of mofussil life and the Indian attitude towards professional unmarried women are such that life for such unmarried women as are available is usually intolerable, and often gives rise to scandal, if nothing worse. Women who are married as girls, enter on married life at puberty, and rear large families between the ages of 15 and 30, can obviously find neither leisure nor energy for the general and professional education that teaching requires, even if, as is rare, they are prepared to combine that work with domestic duties.

Various remedies have been applied to the situation without substantial success. It has been felt that the vast array of Hindu widows, deprived of the right of second marriage and occupying domestic positions of degrading inferiority, ought to supply the required service in schools. Determined and successful attempts to educate and train such women in special institutions have been made in Madras and Lahore, particular attention being paid to child widows of good caste, who can be dedicated from early years to the purpose.[1] Many widows have also been trained in general institutions and are widely employed. The superstitious connexion of widows with bad luck that is common in ignorant and orthodox circles constitutes an objection that is serious among the most school-shy classes. A far more serious objection is the difficulty of providing suitable residence and companions, in order to safeguard these ladies against the evils too often associated with widows who take up work outside the family circle. Their employment without offence or lapse seems possible only in mission settlements and schools under close and careful supervision. In a general campaign they can play only an insignificant part.

Efforts have also been made to train husband and wife together in order that both may work in the girls' school, or assist respectively the local boys' and girls' schools. But experience shows that among the classes from which such teachers are usually drawn it is very rare to find both man and wife possessed of the necessary intelligence and character. The wife also has too little time and energy for the work, an objection which also limits the educational usefulness of wives of men in other professions.

Mixed education cannot be regarded as a finally satisfactory solution of the problem. The number of girls enrolled in boys' elementary schools is very large, just under 500,000, or more than one-third of the total number of girls in the elementary stage. In certain parts of India, and particularly in the Central Provinces, masters of local board boys' schools are encouraged by rewards to secure the attendance of girls. But this is only done where local feeling is in favour of such a device for the keeping of small girls amused and out of mischief. The number of enrolled girls is taken as a test of the local desire for a girls' school, and such a school is opened by the Government or Local Board if there has been an encouraging and steady attendance of girls for some time. The possibility of completing satisfactorily and under safe conditions the primary course in such mixed schools is very slight, except in a few mission schools closely and constantly supervised. It is only in such schools that the continuance of girls after puberty can safely be encouraged. Mixed schools are always a source of anxiety and cannot be regarded as a substitute for properly organised girls' schools, though they are often more satisfactory than the usual type of girls' school, in the more remote and seldom visited villages.[1] It may be noted in this connexion that there are not a few women students in college classes not specially intended for them, and that it has been found possible in such institutions to make fairly satisfactory arrangements for them.

The difficulty experienced in the supply of school staffs will be felt also in training institutions, if and when the number of these institutions is increased to meet a large extension of education on more ambitious lines. For the comparatively small number of existing institutions it has been possible to rely on Europeans, Anglo-Indians, and a few of the more advanced class representatives, who have been able to postpone or meet simultaneously the obligations of married life. The conditions of these institutions are also more suitable for widows than those of small and remote schools. But when one considers the very special qualities required for such important work, and the extent of this work, if it is to be brought only up to the level of boys' schools, the difficulties of provision seem overwhelming.

Similar difficulties are experienced in administration and inspection. In the official world of India ladies have not yet established a very firm footing, and it is sometimes hard for inspectresses to impress their views and the urgency of their claims on Directors, harassed by many other cares and inclined to be sceptically pessimistic regarding at least the elementary grades of girls' education. That it ought to be as important as male education is admitted. But under the depressing and restrictive conditions the general attitude is depicted in a Director's painfully patronising reference to the subject in a recent report as "an interesting offshoot of general education"! There is in each province a staff of inspectresses and assistant inspectresses. Up till recent times the former were exclusively European ladies and the latter mainly European or Anglo-Indian ladies. It has been possible in recent years to recruit a steadily growing number of suitably qualified Indian ladies. This staff, however, is as a rule able to inspect in addition to the higher grade schools only the elementary schools in the larger centres, and those lying on the routes that connect these centres. The other schools are usually left to the subordinate inspecting agency of boys' schools, though inspectresses are

responsible for the correspondence and general administration. The difficulties of travelling are serious, and the general attitude towards professional women often makes it hard for this staff to secure the conveyances and supplies they require. There can be no doubt that the most favourable conditions for supervision are those which obtain in small groups of mission schools within a restricted area under a visiting lady superintendent. Towards the expenses of such supervision aid is often given by Government.

The selection of courses of study presents from the educational standpoint no difficulty. The range of possible subjects is painfully limited by the inadequacy of the staff and the short duration of school life. But to the parents' demands, as represented by the leaders of society, there is no limit. And no Indian parent can be made to understand that the efficacy of a subject depends mainly on the quality of the teacher and the time and energy at the disposal of the pupil. Their faith in text-books and contempt for time-tables are sublime. It is, of course, true that discontent with our curriculum is, with very many, only a convenient excuse for evading what their conscience, or influential hustling, brings before their attention as a clear duty. But there is also no doubt that, if we could satisfy the demands that are made, school attendance would rise, would be far more regular, and would be prolonged into the early stages at all events of married domesticity. The fact that such satisfaction must always be impossible and that we cannot at present come near to giving it, is a real misfortune.

The Indian parent, if he is to put up with all the inconvenience that women's education after puberty involves, requires very good value for his money. For men whose education, according to the tradition that we have established, is determined solely by the needs of professional life it is enough if the means of livelihood are imparted in school and college. Women's education too must be vocational. They must acquire all the arts by which the comfort of home

life may be enhanced for the male, even down to " scientific beekeeping " and the most advanced modes of dairy management. But the perfect woman whom we are to return to the home must be much more than the virtuous woman in Proverbs. All the arts by which the home is brightened must be added to those by which it is supported. For this purpose the music, and musical instruments, of East and West must be mastered, painting on glass brought to a high pitch and deportment perfected. In addition to this cultural equipment and vocational training, she must acquire all the learning that University courses and degree examinations entail. For what is education, particularly in the marriage market, if it does not lead to certificates and degrees ? And prospective husbands are not to be put off with any inferior documents, bestowed, for presumably inferior attainments, on women alone.

Educated India has heard and read much, and seen a little, of the emancipated woman of the West. It is a mistake to suppose that she arouses no feeling but that of horror. But she does create some uneasiness. What India would like is a domestic combination of the qualities and attainments of Mrs. Pankhurst, Lady Astor, and Mrs. Creighton, a woman prepared to devote to the adornment of home life all the qualities that have adorned our lady members of Parliament and won for lady graduates a place in the Convocation of Oxford University. It demands accordingly for women everything that men require for their own professional life and very much more that men want for a bright and happy home life. And it must be imparted in such a way as to give a woman no taste for anything outside her home and no interest in any man except her husband.

In these circumstances it is surprising that the record number of subjects so far recommended by a conference as essential for secondary education is only forty-two.[1] What is actually given in most higher grade courses is not widely

different from the programme for males. Needlework is compulsory in the lower stages of secondary schools, and is sometimes continued throughout the school; it occupies to some extent the place assigned to drawing in boys' schools, but does not necessarily exclude that subject. It is not a compulsory subject for any public examination, and receives but little attention when such examinations are at hand. Attempts are made to teach branches of science, such as physiology, which have a special bearing on home life, and such subjects as hygiene and domestic economy are included in the list of examination alternatives. For some provinces " first aid " and hygiene courses are given both in girls' and boys' schools under the auspices of the St. John's Ambulance Association. But efforts to provide school courses of an essentially domestic character for girls whose education will cease after the secondary school stage have failed, partly owing to the difficulty of adapting the conditions of school life to the peculiar needs and circumstances of the Indian home, but mainly owing to the refusal of the Indian parent to surrender all chance of a University career, or at least matriculation certificate, for his daughter. Only in boarding institutions mainly used by Indian Christians under mission supervision has it been found possible to ensure a really valuable domestic training, by entrusting to the inmates duties in connexion with the domestic arrangements, and by practical training in such duties. The experiment of organising such boarders into " family " groups, and making each group responsible for its own domestic arrangements, has been applied with some success.

In discussing the claims of vocational education we emphasised the need for a solid foundation of general education. And there is no reason for supposing that this foundation must differ widely with reference to sex. What gives cause for alarm in the present situation is not the close resemblance of the girls' curriculum to that of boys, nor the

absence of special vocational training, which must be premature until general education has been fairly established, but the excessive physical strain imposed on girls by requiring of them the same number of subjects and the same standard in those subjects as is required of boys. This is particularly disastrous under the climatic and physiological conditions that obtain in India. Far more important than the provision of any "domestic" training is the reduction of the boys' school courses with a view to avoiding this overstrain. It is certain, for instance, that the compulsory courses in English and Mathematics could, without domestic or national loss, be made far lighter for girls. English for utilitarian purposes is needed only by the very few who are proceeding to a professional career. Actually, it is of far less value than the classical and vernacular languages. But it is, as a rule, the last subject that the Indian parent will surrender. An interesting and profitable experiment, however, has been instituted by the recent and unrecognised University for women at Poona, where instruction throughout is in the vernacular, and where in some subjects the standard aimed at is not higher than that of the intermediate examination of other Universities. This University, however, turned out only fifteen "graduates" between 1915 and 1922, and had in the latter year only thirty students on its rolls. Situated in a town and intended for castes that have taken kindly to the higher education of women, its progress has been less rapid than that of the Madras ladies' colleges, where the closer attention to English and the prospect of a degree recognised commercially all over India have attracted parents.

In most elementary schools it has not in fact been found possible to aim at more than sound instruction in the three R's and in such elements of hygiene and local information of a domestic nature as can be impressed in connexion with the class readers and simple nature study. Needlework is nominally taught and history and geography usually

appear on the time-tables. The training institutions devote most of their time to bringing the teachers to the required level of general education, and to an understanding of the broad principles of teaching.

Special vocational institutions exist mainly for the training of teachers and, to a small but growing extent, of nurses and midwives, and for medical training. The significance of the Lady Hardinge Medical College has already been noted. At the other end of the scale come pathetic attempts for the general education of the depressed classes who, among the poorer classes of India, undertake most of the midwifery work. Special scholarships are given in the Central Provinces for the enlightenment, by at least a primary course of instruction, of the Mang women who undertake this work. Apart from scholastic and medical training there are a few lace-making and needlework schools maintained by missions. Little progress can be expected in such schools, except in connexion with scientifically planned schemes for community welfare work and the development of subsidiary occupations for women. The community as a whole must move together.

The financial difficulties that impede generally the education of the masses are accentuated in this field. To attract and support in proper conditions the right type of woman it has been found necessary to offer salaries sometimes higher than those given to male teachers and in most other cases approximating to such salaries. Their training, owing to the need for special arrangements for seclusion, is more expensive than that of males. The inspecting agency requires special facilities for residence and travel. Mohammedan pupils, and those of the more exclusive orthodox or reluctant Hindu classes, require, in the higher grades, besides costly " purda " arrangements, daily conveyance to school, and other pupils of all grades and classes are shepherded in their walk to and from school by " conductresses ". It is customary to give prizes in primary schools to all regular

attenders. It has become traditional to give free education even in the higher grades; and it will be long before this additional inducement can be dispensed with in Hindu and Mohammedan circles. Higher education is at present on so small a scale that the financial burden is not, for the country as a whole, oppressive. But wide extension will make the burden intolerable, unless there is a corresponding change in the general attitude and customs of the parents. Substantial reduction in the upkeep of elementary schools is impossible, but here it is not so much the cost of further extension that creates consternation as the terribly small results of the present large expenditure.

The removal of almost all the difficulties enumerated above depends on a complete change in the attitude of India as a whole towards women. For the complete apathy of all but the educated classes towards women's education the structure of the Hindu and Mohammedan social system is responsible, and it is this structure which makes the educated classes, despite their growing conviction of the need for educated women, such weak and unintelligent supporters of the cause. Substantial progress in the Indian Christian and Parsee communities shows that, apart from social and religious customs, there exists in India no insuperable obstacle to women's education.

Marriage customs must radically be reformed as a first condition of advance. Of such reformation there are no signs at present. Though there is a perceptible rise in the age of child marriage, it is chiefly on the male side. Except among the most advanced classes, bold enough to despise the commotion caused among orthodox Brahmins, there is no tendency to postpone marriage till after puberty or to defer the undertaking of all the duties of married life till at least the foundations of a sound general education have been laid. Progress is impossible, so long as motherhood is accepted before the real fruits of education have begun to ripen

The Hindu and Mohammedan world must learn also to adopt a more tolerant and helpful attitude towards the professional woman. Widows must no longer be regarded as domestic drudges, and the possibility of useful work outside the home for such widows, or for those who wish to postpone marriage, must be admitted. The census authorities remind us that the birth of girls is still regarded widely as a misfortune and hint that there are parts of India where figures suggest the persistence of female infanticide.[1] The universal preference for male children is, among Hindus, partly due to the ceremonial need for the services of a son after death. But it reflects also the general conviction that the parents' sole duty towards a daughter, and that a most irksome and expensive duty, is the provision of a husband at the earliest possible age. Their attitude towards the daughter in her early years is determined by this duty. Among the educated classes alone is education regarded as a possible asset in the fulfilment of this task. But, as we have suggested above, the kind of education that is valued as a marriage asset is beyond our power at present to give.

The additional expense imposed, and embarrassment caused, by the seclusion of girls who have reached puberty is obvious enough to require no illustration. The purda is of course a Mohammedan institution, and there are few signs of its weakening in Islamic India. It has, however, been borrowed largely by the Hindu world, and is regarded in many parts of India as a sign of orthodoxy or still more of social precedence. Among the South Indian and Maratha castes it holds but little sway, and to this may be attributed in part the progress shown by Madras and Bombay in higher education. There is a tendency unfortunately among classes and castes that are socially on the rise to resort to seclusion as a sign of respectability. It is among such classes also that child marriage and the like exert a particularly reactionary influence.

Attempts have been made by Christian missions and

such Indian societies as the Seva Sadan Society to counter the evil effects of these social customs by house to house visits of educated women, and by special classes for adult women held at times and in places consistent with domestic obligations. Such efforts are often supported, financially and otherwise, by the local Government. As a measure of general education, representing a compromise and a substitute for school and college education, it is, in its results, insignificant and restricted and in its methods most expensive. To suggest the possibility of compromise is perhaps a mistake. But as part of a religious campaign against the impeding features of the social system and as an attempt to convince Indian women in their homes of the imperative need for change it is a heroic and useful, though painfully slow, method. The arguments and example of Zenana teachers have but little effect in the home atmosphere pervaded by the potent personality of the mother-in-law, or senior lady of the house. The influence of this all-important "femina dux facti" is stronger than that of any resolution in favour of women's education, supported outside the home by the men of her household. But any method which brings the force of religion to bear on the citadel of the social system is to be commended.

For history confirms what experience suggests to most observers of the Hindu and Mohammedan world. No influence except that of a religion, more powerful than the religion which sanctions and solidifies the existing social system, will effect any radical changes in that system. The centuries have produced in India constant modification and adaptation to political, economic, and cultural needs. But no education, and no progressive movement which is not inspired by and based on religious convictions of a radically transforming character, will ever alter the essential features of Hindu and Mohammedan life. The Indian Christian's attitude towards his women folk is fundamentally different from that of educated Hindu or Mohammedan. The attitude

of the Hindu or Mohammedan is substantially that which prevailed under the great Mogul.

In dealing with the education of the masses we recommended generally a vigorous and steady extension of compulsion. But it is now clear that this policy must, for the present, be confined to boys. It is true that in the case of boys we find the need for compulsion most strongly marked in the most backward areas and classes. *A fortiori* the need is greatest among girls. And the standard of female literacy will not be substantially raised till this need is met. But effective compulsion is out of the question when social prejudice and customs make the supply of suitable teachers, even for the present small number of pupils, impracticable and acquiescence by the mass of parents unthinkable. Popular objection to the education of boys is essentially economic. But here "we wrestle, not against flesh and blood, but against principalities and powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places". It would be as easy, and far more profitable, for a provincial Government to legislate against child marriage as to enforce the regular school attendance of girls and prolongation of such attendance after puberty. And without such conditions compulsion would be merely a dramatic and expensive gesture.

Meanwhile, so long as a substantial rise in literacy is not expected, a steady advance can hopefully be made along the line of least resistance in the sphere of higher education, where the influence of missions and advanced opinion is most effective, and where the conditions facilitate proper supervision and adequate teaching. In or near the centres of higher education a sound system of primary feeder schools is possible. The supervision of such schools can usefully be entrusted here and there to local committees of educated and interested Indian ladies. Systematic attempts at local committees in less progressive surroundings have failed to produce anything but intrigue, persecution of staff, and unintelligent complaints or suggestions.

It is doubtful whether any progress is possible outside this limited sphere. The writer, after much inspection of elementary schools, would stop all expenditure of public funds on girls in boys' schools and on Government or Board elementary schools, and on all other schools, not effectively supervised and staffed by missions or local committees, in remote towns and all villages. If the cost to public funds of every pupil completing the full course in such schools were calculated, it would reveal the waste of money. Even those who complete the course are not educated for practical purposes, as our training schools know too well. And these miserably ineffective schools give constant scope for scandal and bring the cause of education into disrepute. Their closure would also remove from our statistics thousands of purely nominal pupils and lakhs of rupees of expenditure, and thereby deprive educated India of one of the sops to its too easily appeased conscience.

If this retirement on the lines of higher education seems reactionary and pusillanimous, India must console herself by the thought that it is also an escape from that atmosphere of unreality which paralyses so much of Indian education.

Every girl who leaves school at 10, after irregular attendance in badly taught classes, is using money sorely needed elsewhere and giving education a bad name. "The education of a single girl," as an Indian leader of social reform stated publicly, "means the uplifting of a whole family in a larger sense than the education of a single man." But the education must be real and not a sham.

CHAPTER XVII

EPILOGUE—THE FUTURE

Education under popular control—Time for judgment not arrived—Analysis of public opinion—Financial difficulties and dangers—Position of western workers—And Christian missions—And religious education generally—Prospects of cultural growth—Importance of Universities and academic freedom—Probability of intensified State control—And consequent loss—Responsibility of Government of India—Technical education—Women's education—Hopeful signs—The call to the West.

My introduction emphasised five conclusions to which it was hoped that this book would lead. In the light of these conclusions what forecast is possible of the future of Indian education, under the ministers, councils, and general public who will henceforth determine its course? It would be wrong for me to speak dogmatically or at length on this subject, for my personal experience and observation of the reformed Government's work cover a period of less than two years. During this period the conditions were peculiarly unfavourable. The novelty of the situation, inexperience of ministers and councils, the non-co-operation movement, the absence of a party system, and financial straits, perplexed and embarrassed the new masters.

Many of these difficulties still remain; the time has obviously not come for passing judgment or drawing conclusions. There has been no dramatic change of policy. Where there has been development, it has been, substantially, on lines previously established.

Those, including myself, who opposed the transfer of education as a whole to Indian control feared the influence of "public opinion," as manifested previously in the press

and on the platform, as well as in talk and council or committee discussion. It seemed clear that this opinion represented no definite standards or clearly formulated ideals. It measured advance by the number of pupils, graduates, and institutions, not by the quality of the work or output. Education must be cheap and could not be ineffective, provided that a low examination standard maintained a reasonable percentage of passes. It was not prepared to raise more funds by higher fees or taxes; and it was unable to see that extension of education, in the absence of such financial measures and without substantial growth of private endowment, meant deterioration of quality, disastrous to the commonweal.

Public opinion, as analysed above, has not, as yet, effected any startling change under the new conditions. But there is no reason to suppose that it has been modified. Its influence will make itself felt first on the financial side. Mass education cannot be extended, nor the present level of higher education maintained, until the financial position is defined and faced and a larger educational income guaranteed.

In one respect at least the new conditions will be beneficial. The work of western educationalists, outside the expiring Indian Educational Service, will be better appreciated and more influential. Whether employed directly by a provincial Government or University, or by private committee or manager, they will be able, unhampered by the patronage or support of an external Government, to obtain recognition as the true servants of India, subject to Indian control and trustworthy for Indian guidance.

Christian missions will find their educational work correspondingly more easy. It would be wrong to anticipate official hostility to their work. Its material value is too widely recognised. Any step calculated to result in withdrawal from such work would excite popular resentment. When, in certain quarters, the demand arose recently for a

conscience clause, the tactful attitude of the missions, which recognised that the demand, though practically embarrassing and of dubious origin, was theoretically unassailable, and the local Government's desire to ensure a continuance of their educational help, brought about a solution of the problem creditable, and apparently satisfactory, to all parties. Far more formidable is the possibility that the usefulness of missions on the one hand, and the financial friendliness of the Government on the other, may establish conditions which would impair the freedom of missions. That such freedom, to all bodies engaged in higher education, is an essential condition of real usefulness has been sufficiently emphasised above. The enjoyment of it, without sacrifice of financial support, will testify to the tact of missions and good sense of the Government.

Unfortunately, it is the material benefits rather than the spiritual driving force behind them that India recognises at present in mission work. It cannot be claimed that the new conditions are equally favourable for educational work inspired by the other great religions of India. A Government almost offensively neutral, and ultimately responsible to the English people, was more favourably situated for encouraging all such work than Governments ultimately controlled by a public opinion imbued with religious suspicion and antagonism. There will be no exhibition of gross partiality. But the fear of such a charge, and a desire to avoid offence and criticism, will encourage reluctance to aid, and anxiety to circumscribe with conditions, educational enterprise that is inspired by genuine Mohammedan, Hindu, or Sikh zeal.

The cultural development of India, on lines suggested in this book, depends mainly on the retention and use by Universities of the freedom claimed, and partially won for them, by the Calcutta University Commission. The exhilarating prospect of national service in the field of sound learning may then appeal to the finest minds of India, too

exclusively occupied at present with racial and political questions. Indian life and thought will be methodically investigated, standards of truth and beauty will emerge, the scheme of values will be enlarged, and education for the first time brought into close touch with all sides of national life.

It seems, however, only too probable that the provincial Governments will intensify rather than relax their control of higher education. India does not shrink from bureaucracy. Such protest against State control as was voiced under the old régime was caused, not by official interference, but by the supposed alien nature of officialdom. Urging the necessity for "popular control," any vociferous and insistent band of enthusiastic council members will be able to persuade a minister, predisposed to show his power, that their views must uniformly be impressed on the system as a whole. Suspicion of all action not explicitly approved by the council will grow; schools and colleges will be entangled in a net of political and communal intrigue. The temptation to secure a low standard of examination, and large output of graduates, by political agitation, will be irresistible.

Much, however, will depend on the attitude of the central Government of India. Certain powers in connexion with University legislation and the recognition of degrees have wisely been reserved to this authority. Such powers, firmly and tactfully exercised, might ensure a reasonable standard of culture and academic freedom from local Bumbles. In this sphere, as also in the co-ordination of technological and research work, a salutary check on provincial governments is possible. It is greatly to be hoped that a desire for economy, and exaggerated respect for provincial feeling, will not prevent the reconstitution, in its old strength, of the staff of expert advisers and bureau of information that used to assist the central Government in its educational work. Apart from any question of control, the information and advice tendered by such a staff are sorely needed by the provinces.

The prospects of vocational and specialised education are, perhaps, brighter. Its importance is fully recognised. What requires wider recognition is the fact that expenditure thereon is a profitable investment only where there is a sound basis of general education, expert guidance, and a demand for skilled labour or supervision by an established industry.

For women's education the new Governments can do no more than the old. Advance depends neither on codes nor money, but on the transformation of the social system by some new religious force.

This forecast, in so far as it is gloomy, may be discredited by the fact that I opposed the transfer of education to "popular" control, when it was still an open question. That it was detrimental to progress is still my belief; that it was inevitable may, perhaps, be admitted. In any case I am far from wishing to suggest despair. The supreme importance of education is recognised by the politically minded and the industrial leaders. There are no signs of rash and violent reaction among those who do, as opposed to those who only talk. Such development as there may be will be preceded by ample discussion and experiment. The conditions are favourable for disinterested and sympathetic volunteers from western lands. It is my firm belief that, with their assistance, much of what was good in British educational policy will be strengthened and built into the fabric of Indian national life. Thus gradually will be fulfilled the ancient Hindu prayer: "Lead me from the unreal to the real; lead me from darkness to light; lead me from death to immortality".

LIST OF BOOKS, REPORTS, AND DOCUMENTS CONSULTED IN THE PREPARATION OF THIS BOOK

This is not intended to be a bibliography of Indian education. It excludes some authorities that I found it unnecessary to consult and perhaps many that I should have done well to consult. A bibliography of the subject up to 1859 is given in "Selections from Educational Records," I and II. Bureau of Education, Calcutta.

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NOTES

E.R. = Educational Records, Selections from. Bureau of Education, India.

C.U.C.R. = Calcutta University Commission Report.

P. 10. (1) E.R., I, 22. Section 43 of the Act authorised the Governor-General in Council to set apart from any surplus of the revenues a sum of not less than one lakh of rupees for this purpose. One lakh of rupees = Rs. 100,000. The exchange value of the rupee has varied greatly. Roughly a lakh of rupees may be taken as equivalent to anything between £10,000 and £6,500, the exact amount depending on the period under reference.

(2) For licences to missionaries, see Coupland, William Wilberforce, 388 f. The Charter Act of 1813 secured for any missionary, to whom the East India Company refused a licence, the right of appeal to the Board of Control. See p. 14.

(3) Letter from Court of Directors dated 3/6/1814. E.R., I, 22-23.

(4) By a resolution carried in Parliament, E.R., I, 17. The Court of Directors' reply is given on the same page and is quoted below.

P. 11. (1) Jonathan Duncan, 1756-1811. Governor of Bombay, 1795-1811. His monument in Bombay records that he abolished infanticide in Benares and Kathiawar.

(2) James Prinsep, F.R.S., 1799-1840. Employed in Calcutta Mint. Orientalist and scientist. Brother of H. T. Prinsep, protagonist on oriental side against Macaulay, 1792-1878. Member of Council, retired 1843; Director of East India Company, 1854. Wrote a valuable account of his official life, unpublished but quoted in Curzon's "British Government in India," see n. on page 23. In later life close friend of G. F. Watts and Burne-Jones.

P. 11. (2) Horace H. Wilson, 1786-1860. Medical service of East India Company. Secretary to Committee of Public Instruction. Greatest Sanskrit scholar of first half of nineteenth century.

William Jones, Sir, 1746-94. First English student of Sanskrit. Founder of Royal Asiatic Society. Judge of Supreme Court. Friend of Warren Hastings.

H. T. Colebrook, 1765-1837. Distinguished orientalist. Member of Council. President Royal Asiiatic Society.

(3) E.R., I, 80.

(4) E.R., I, 91. Despatch of Directors of 18/2/1824.

(5) E.R., I, 19. Minute of 6/3/1811.

P. 12. (1) For the Claphamites (evangelical leaders strongly represented at Clapham), see Coupland's Wilberforce. See also E.R., I, 81, for C. Grant, a prominent evangelical, retired East India Company servant and Chairman of the Company, 1805, whose "Observations on India" strongly influenced Wilberforce.

(2) William Carey, Rev. Dr., 1761-1834. First Baptist missionary to India, 1794. Translated Bible into Bengali.

(3) Alexander Duff, Rev. Dr., 1806-78. First missionary to India sent by General Assembly of Church of Scotland. Largely responsible for much of Wood's famous Despatch of 1854.

(4) David Hare. For further information on this very interesting figure, see "Dict. Nat. Biog.," E.R., and C.U.C.R.

Vidyalaya = Home of learning.

Ram Mohun Roy. For a full account of this important man see Farquhar's "Modern Religious Movements in India".

(5) For petition, see E.R., I, 99.

P. 13. (1) "The famous minute was not generally known at the time." It was not published till 1862. The original MS. has been lost. E.R., I, 102.

Zachary Macaulay at an early date warned his son in vain against "the loudness and vehemence of his tones," and quoted

"Vociferated logic kills me quite;
A noisy man is always in the right."

—TREVELYAN, "Life," I, 47-48.

P. 14. (1) Quoted with unction in a Bombay Government resolution of this period. E.R., II, 145.

P. 15. (1) Open letter from Thomas Campbell to Henry Brougham in the "Times". Republished on centenary in "Times" of 7/2/25.
(2) Trevelyan's "Macaulay," II, 339.

P. 16. (1) Trevelyan's "Macaulay," I, 455.
(2) Charles Wilkins, Sir, F.R.S., 1750-1836. In service of East India Company. Orientalist. Translated, under patronage of Warren Hastings, Bhagvad Gita. Prepared first Bengali and Persian type.
(3) Burke. Speech on East India Bill, 1783.

P. 17. (1) I was reminded of this dictum by its very apt quotation in Edmond Candler's "Abdication".

P. 18. (1) A resolution to this effect was published in the same year, 1835. The Act was passed in 1837.
(2) Boulger, "William Bentinck," 54.

P. 19. (1) Thomas Munro, Sir, 1761-1827. Governor of Madras, 1819-27. The words are quoted by H. Maitra, "The World's Ideal," 50.
(2) Bentinck's resolution dated 7/3/1835. E.R., I, 130.
(3) E.R., II, 313. Madhusudan Gupta was the dissecter. See remarkable account by J. D. Bethune (loc. cit.) on presenting his portrait to the Presidency College. It was in October, 1835. See also C. E. Trevelyan, "On the Education of the People of India," 33.
(4) From his address to Indian National Congress, printed in "Times" of 27/12/24.

P. 20. (1) Contempt for Indian civilisation was not confined to those who were ignorant of it. The Abbé Dubois, after years of skilful and patient observation, wrote, at the close of the eighteenth century, of Hindu learning as "perfectly stationary during long years in which other nations have attained the summit of civilisation." See generally, "Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies," 377 ff. But unlike the Anglicists he saw no possibility of any changes in the social conditions of India. And he thought that the poverty of the country would make sound administration impossible—xxiii.
(2) Macaulay's Minute of 2/2/35.
(3) Sir Alfred Lyall. Durand, "Life," 283.

P. 21. (1) Minute of Sir Thomas Munro, 1824, quoted in Valentine Chirol, "India, Old and New," 76.
(2) Op. cit., 79.

P. 21. (3) C. E. Trevelyan, "On the Education of the People of India," 193-95.

P. 23. (1) For Bentinck's outlook and character, see Macaulay's epitaph on his statue in Calcutta, quoted in Boulger's "Life," 203: "constant study to elevate the intellectual and moral character of the nation committed to his charge". Also extracts from Prinsep's unpublished memoirs quoted in Curzon's "British Government in India": "A great love of change and desire to meddle," "he as often muddled what he meddled with as improved it," "wrote more minutes than all the other Governors-General of India put together".

P. 25. (1) The aim is summarised thus in the Despatch of 1854. E.R., II, 365.

(2) C. E. Trevelyan, "On the Education of the People of India," 84, 113.

(3) Minute dated 20/5/35. E.R., I, 134.

(4) Minute dated 24/8/36. E.R., I, 147.

P. 26. (1) A leading characteristic of the fourth Earl of Minto. Buchan's "Life," 327.

(2) The Despatch of the Court of Directors of 1854, sometimes called the "Magna Carta of English Education in India". It led to the establishment of Universities, the grants in aid system, and provincial departments of education. It was the outcome of parliamentary investigation which preceded the renewal of the Charter, 1853, and was influenced by evidence given by C. E. Trevelyan and Duff. Sir Charles Wood, first Viscount Halifax, was President of the Board of Control. E.R., II, chap. ix.

(3) E.R., II, 271. Lord Hardinge's attempt in 1844 to encourage English education, by restricting the higher grades of Government service to those who had passed a very severe English test, drew from the Court of Directors the warning that only a moderate and practical knowledge of English, with a thorough command of the vernacular language, was required. E.R., II, 92.

P. 28. (1) Dwarkanath Tagore, 1795-1846. Bengali. Educated in England. Prominent reformer and philanthropist. Travelled in Europe, 1841-42 and 1845-46. Died in London.

P. 32. (1) A phrase borrowed from Ronaldshay's "The Heart of Aryavarta".

P. 33. (1) Gibbon, "Decline and Fall," vol. i, cap. 2. Same source for quotations on pp. 34-35.

P. 35. (1) Collingwood, "Roman Britain" (H. Milford, 1923), 16.

P. 37. (1) Vincent Smith, "History of India". I owe also in this chapter much to the books of Sir Alfred Lyall, J. N. Farquhar, H. Maitra, and N. N. Mazumder, included in the list of books.

(2) Lyall, Asiatic Studies, "Missionary and Non-missionary Religions".

P. 38. (1) I have failed to trace this quotation to its source.

P. 39. (1) Lyall, verses written in India. "Meditations of a Hindu Prince".

P. 40. (1) The comparison is well elaborated in N. N. Mazumder's book.

P. 41. (1) C. E. Trevelyan, "On the Education of the People of India," 20.

P. 42. (1) H. Maitra, "The World's Ideal," 10, 24, 52, 55, has supplied the quotation and some of the material for this paragraph.

P. 46. (1) T. W. Arnold, "The Preaching of Islam".

(2) T. W. Arnold, "The Preaching of Islam".

P. 47. (1) Sayad Ahmad Khan, 1817-98. Founder of the Anglo-Oriental College, Aligarh. Changed materially the attitude of Indian Mohammedans towards English education.

P. 53. (1) Quoted by Valentine Chirol, "India, Old and New," 188, in record of a conversation with Gandhi. Shaukat Ali, a leader of the Mohammedan extremists.

P. 55. (1) Letters to Mary Gladstone, quoted in article in "Observer".

(2) See list of prize books for Indian schools (including "Gil Blas" and Middleton's "Life of Cicero") in Trevelyan's "Macaulay," I, 410.

P. 56. (1) Matthew Arnold, "Educational Essays—Reign of Queen Victoria".

(2) I owe much here to "Cambridge Modern History," vol. xii, cap. 24-26.

P. 62. (1) The Directors' Despatch of 1854 finally determined the organisation of education in India. The type and aim of education were established in 1835.

P. 64. (1) An annual report with this comprehensive title was published annually till the recent Government of India Act substituted an annual statement "on India," which, in content, is equally comprehensive.

P. 65. (1) "Encyclopædia Britannica." Article on Education, for this and succeeding facts.

P. 68. (1) H. Maitra, "The World's Ideal," cap. 4. N. N. Mazumder, "History of Education in Ancient India," cap. 6 and 7. J. N. Farquhar, "Primer of Hinduism," 71. For "Guru," see Wilkins, "Modern Hinduism," 31. Lord Minto in 1811 noted a prejudice at Benares against the office of professor "considered as an office or a service". E.R., I, 20.

P. 71. (1) Sir William Meston, quoted by N. N. Mazumder. See also Ronaldshay, "The Heart of Aryavarta," 71 ff.

(2) I am indebted to W. W. Pearson, Shantiniketan, and to a personal account given me by the Rev. A. G. Fraser. See also Fleming, "Schools with a Message in India".

P. 76. (1) The Despatch of 1854 noted as the condition for establishment of a University "a sufficient number of institutions from which properly qualified candidates for degrees can be supplied". It was in fact "an expansion of arrangements for many years in operation for testing the powers and attainments of college students".

P. 80. (1) E.R., I, 67 ff.

P. 84. (1) E.R., II, 67.

P. 85. (1) C.U.C.R., II, xviii.

(2) E.R., II, 293.

(3) C. E. Trevelyan, "On the Education of the People of India," 121 ff.

P. 86. (1) E.R., II, 170.

(2) C.U.C.R., II, xviii, 263.

(3) C.U.C.R., II, xvi, 103.

(4) C.U.C.R., II, xviii, 264.

P. 87. (1) C. E. Trevelyan, "On the Education of the People of India," 43.

P. 89. (1) C.U.C.R., II, xviii.

P. 92. (1) For "Filtration Theory," see Macaulay's Minute of 2/2/35, Trevelyan, "On the Education of the People of India," and note by Holt Mackenzie, E.R., 57.

P. 94. (1) There are doubts whether the progress, steady but very slow, shown in population of over five years of age,

is maintained among "effective" literates of over twenty years.

P. 95. (1) The Indian National Congress, a political assembly claiming to represent the educated opinion of India, has met annually since December, 1885. Local self-government was instituted by Lord Ripon in 1881.

P. 96. (1) E.R., II. 97. J. D. Bethune, 1801-51. Legal Member of Council, 1848, and President, Council of Education.

P. 97. (1) Cf. literacy figures for males on page 94, 8·2 per cent.

P. 98. (1) C.U.C.R., II, xiv, 12.

P. 99. (1) This is based largely on H. Maitra, "The World's Ideal," Chapter VI. See also Mazumder, "History of Education in Ancient India," 12 f.

P. 109. (1) "Montagu-Chelmsford Report," 1918.

P. 112. (1) See Vincent Smith and H. Maitra, *op. cit.*

P. 119. (1) Report of United Provinces Government to Reforms Inquiry Committee.

P. 120. (1) Circular letter to provincial Governments quoted in Quinquennial Report on Education in India, 1917-22.

(2) Rushbrook Williams, "India, 1923-24," 266. The figures are for contested constituencies only. The enfranchised population of India (British) is 5·3 millions out of a total of 247 millions, less than 3 per cent. "India, 1923-24," 46.

P. 127. (1) Rushbrook Williams, "India, 1923-24," 99. Prorogation speech of Lord Reading.

P. 128. (1) e.g. "India, 1923-24," 39-43.

(2) Quinquennial Review, 1917-22, reported corps under training in eight University centres. The Calcutta corps was 950 strong.

P. 129. (1) See Bengal District Administration Report, 1913.

P. 131. (1) For many years a prescribed text-book in high schools.

P. 136. (1) For full facts, figures, and conclusions, see Quinquennial Review, 1917-22, and Rushbrook Williams, "India in 1921-22, 1922-23".

P. 138. (1) Bevan, "Indian Nationalism". To this book this chapter owes much.

(2) Ghokhale, G. K., 1866-1915. West Coast Brahmin. Professor and Principal at Fergusson College, Poona, till 1902. President of Congress, 1905. Founder of Servants of India Society. Member of Viceregal Legislature from 1902. Member of Public Services Commission. Champion of compulsory education

and political advance on constitutional evolutionary lines.

P. 138. (2) Paranjpe, P. J., after a distinguished mathematical career at Cambridge was Principal, Fergusson College, Poona, and first Minister (Education) in reformed Bombay Government.

Srinivasa Sastri, V. S. Madras Brahmin. Headmaster of a high school. Succeeded Ghokhale as President of Servants of India Society. After distinguished political career attended Washington Conference as an Indian delegate and visited the Dominions on behalf of Indian Government to investigate Indian disabilities.

Surendranath Bannerjee, 1848-1924. Bengali Brahmin. I.C.S. retired. Professor of English, founder of Ripon College, Calcutta, editor of "Bengalee". President of Congress, Minister (Education) in reformed Bengal Government.

(3) Its members under vows of poverty and life-long service in religious spirit attend to the social and economic amelioration of India.

P. 141. (1) Miss Cornelia Sorabji in a letter to the "Times," 14/1/25, gave a significant illustration of the influence exerted by caste to-day in political life.

P. 142. (1) Lord Willingdon in Madras selected his first Ministers from the non-Brahmin party in that Presidency.

P. 144. (1) Professor Rushbrook Williams reminds us that, though India's public expenditure on education in proportion to its total public expenditure is as high as in European countries, its educational expenditure per head of population is far lower than that of progressive western countries. "India, 1922-23".

P. 145. (1) Sir Chandra Chatterjee as guest of the Royal Colonial Institute. "Times" of 27/1/25.

(2) Darling, "The Punjab Peasant," 159.

P. 146. (1) Swadeshi movement, for purchase and use of Indian products, arising out of agitation against Bengal Partition, 1908. Gandhi, for spiritual and economic reasons, has tried more recently to revive the use of the charka (hand-loom).

P. 150. (1) i.e. for those whose education is prolonged beyond the secondary school stage.

P. 151. (1) Fleming, "Schools with a Message in India," and personal inspection.

P. 158. (1) Darling, " The Punjab Peasant," Introduction, ix.
P. 163. (1) Darling, " The Punjab Peasant," and Rushbrook Williams, *passim*. The co-operative credit movement began in 1904.
P. 164. (1) A Board like that proposed by the C.U.C.R. for secondary and intermediate education is required for technical education. Its scope might, in fact, include all types of education provided that in regard to higher education its duties were solely co-ordination and advice, not actual control or administration.
P. 167. (1) India census, 1921.
P. 170. (1) In 1922-23 there were 83 students.
P. 172. (1) Quinquennial Review, 1912-17.
P. 175. (1) André Chévrillon. The creed was published in " Times " of 26/7/25.
P. 177. (1) Buchan, " Lord Minto," 222.
P. 178. (1) In a convocation address to University of Calcutta.
(2) At his trial in Ahmedabad, 1921.
P. 181. (1) Sir Alfred Lyall, " Verses written in India ". Siva.
P. 186. (1) Tilak, B. G. 1856-1920. West Coast Brahmin. Nationalist and Orientalist. Joint founder of Fergusson College, Poona. Editor of " Maratha " and " Kesari ". Twice convicted of sedition. Secured in 1915 for extremist party control of Indian National Congress.
P. 188. (1) Arya Samaj. See Farquhar, " Modern Religious Movements in India ". Founded 1874 by Dayanand. General aim, reform of Hinduism on Vedic lines and rejection of post-vedic features such as the more objectionable developments of caste, child-marriage, and idolatry. At Indian Census of 1921, 468,000 adherents mainly in North India. In 1911 only 243,000.
(2) But for the generous praise of less expert visitors, considering the aims rather than the methods, see p. 71.
(3) Article in " Twentieth Century," April, 1925.
P. 194. (1) Ashutosh Mukerji, died 1924. High Court judge in Bengal, member of Calcutta University Commission, for many years Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University.
P. 203. (1) Quinquennial Review, 1917-22.
P. 214. (1) For this and following pages, see generally Farquhar, " Modern Religious Movements in India ".

P. 216. (1) Gibbon, " Decline and Fall," vol. i, chap. 2.
P. 219. (1) " India, 1923-24," 219. He gives some very forceful examples.
P. 220. (1) The Brahmo Samaj is credited in the 1921 census with 6,388 followers, mainly in Bengal and Bihar. See Farquhar, " Modern Religious Movements in India ".
(2) Indian Headquarters at Adyar, Madras. Associated essentially with Mrs. Besant. See Farquhar.
(3) Personal information. I found also a reference to the incident in a mission periodical, but omitted to note the reference.
(4) Indian Census, 1921. I, 231.
P. 221. (1) Reported in " Times " of 6/1/25.
(2) In accordance with the recommendations of the Lee Commission.
P. 223. (1) Conference of 1923.
P. 227. (1) Opinion varies on this point. The Punjab Superintendent quotes figures in support. Indian Census, 1921, 185.
(2) Indian Census, 1921, 185.
(3) Rushbrook Williams, " India, 1923-24," 73. The Madras percentage, however, is 90.
P. 228. (1) Quoted in Quinquennial Review, 1912-17.
(2) Bombay. Quoted in Quinquennial Review, 1917-22.
P. 229. (1) In 100 schools checked on one day in the United Provinces the total enrolment claimed was 8,303, the average attendance 5,516 and the day's attendance 4,903. Quinquennial Review, 1917-22.
P. 233. (1) The Exchange value of the rupee varies from 1s. 4d. to 2s. The increase, which is for pupils of both sexes, is between 1917 and 1922. Quinquennial Review, 1917-22.
P. 236. (1) The Census Superintendent of the United Provinces estimates the cost of each of the additional 25,000 literates in that Province in the last decade at Rs. 4,000 ! Indian Census, 1921, 185.
P. 241. (1) This account is taken from the Baroda volume of the Indian Census, 1921. See also Fleming, " Schools with a Message in India ".
P. 244. (1) The late Mr. R. V. Russell, I.C.S., to whom Mandla District, Central Provinces, owed so much.
P. 247. (1) Readers for the Central Provinces published by the O. U. Press, Bombay.

P. 248. (1) See particularly report of A. D. Campbell, 17/8/1823. E.R., I, 65, and Lord Moira's Minute of 1815. E.R., I, 24.

P. 249. (1) This was recommended by a committee deputed by missions to study village education in 1919.

P. 263. (1) The question of fees in elementary education should have been treated in this chapter. Briefly it may be said that by 1920, the principle that compulsory education must be free had been universally accepted, in one province and many parts of provinces no fees were charged in any elementary schools, all fees were very light and exemption on grounds of poverty was freely given.

P. 265. (1) Mrs. Naidu's poetry has attracted considerable attention in England. For several years she has taken a leading part in Indian politics and she was President of the Indian National Congress, 1925. Daughter of a Bengali professor employed in Hyderabad State. Miss Sorabji is well known for her interest in educational and social work and her writings on these and allied subjects.

(2) Bengal, Madras, Bombay, United Provinces, Assam.

P. 266. (1) I was present when the first Brahmin lady took her B.A. degree in Madras, in 1905, I think.

(2) Expenditure on inspection, buildings, and other objects for which separate accounts are not available, is excluded.

P. 268. (1) The Madras institution owed much to the enterprise and initiative of a European inspectress of schools. The Lahore Widows' Home is the result of Indian munificence. An interesting description is given in Quinquennial Review, 1917-22.

P. 269. (1) Quinquennial Review, 1917-22, notes a growing dislike for co-education even where it is sanctioned by tradition.

P. 272. (1) Quinquennial Review, 1917-22, quoting from Assam Report. In addition to bee-keeping, midwifery and the rearing of silkworms were included.

P. 277. (1) Indian Census, 1921, vol. i, Appendix vi, concludes that the sex ratio figures of groups in which there is a tradition of female infanticide suggest the continued deliberate destruction of female infant life either by active or passive means.

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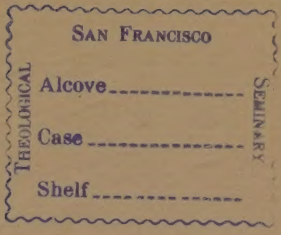

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